DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 357 160 CE 063 114

AUTHOR	Kleiber, Pam, Comp.; Tisdell, Libby, Comp.
TITLE	Annual Adult Education Research Conference (AERC) Proceedings (31st, Athens, Georgia, May 18-20, 1990).
INSTITUTION	Georgia Univ., Athens. Center for Continuing Education.
PUB DATE	May 90
NOTE	281p.
PUB TYPE	Collected Works - Conference Proceedings (021)
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC12 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Adult Basic Education; *Adult Education; *Adult Learning; Adult Programs; Adult Students; Case Studies; *Continuing Education; Educational Practices; *Educational Research; Extension Education; Field Studies; Independent Study; Outcomes of Education; Participatory Research; *Professional Development; Program Development; Program Effectiveness; *Research Methodology; Student Attitudes; Student Characteristics; Volunteers

ABSTRACT

The proceedings contains: "Extending Equality" (Armstrong); "Phenomenology of Emergent Meaning from Dialectical Questioning and Answering in Adult Learning (AL)" (Xue-Ming Bao); "Study of Structural Dimensions and Predictive Capability of Adult Attitudes toward Continuing Education Scale and Education Participation Scale" (Blunt); "Ideological and Epistemological Foundations of Education about AIDS" (Boshier); "Passion, Purity and Pillage" (Brookfield); "Making Trouble in Corporate America" (Brooks); "Perceived Occupational Needs and Job Fulfillment in Continuing Higher Education" (Brue); "Using Naturalistic Inquiry and Content Analysis as Qualitative Approach to Conduct Historical Case Study Research" (Cavaliere); "Breaking Bonds of Poverty" (Cheng); "Universal Abandon" (Collard, Law); "Impact of Participatory Research on Building Better Community" (Counter, Paul); "Helping Them Cope" (Dirkx, Spurgin); "How Program Developers Make Decisions in Practice" (Dominick); "Revised Model of Interdependence of Providers of Continuing Professional Education" (Ferro); "Environmental AL" (Finger, Hiemstra); "Comparative Analysis of Barriers to Participation in Rural Adult Education (AE) Programs" (Galbraith, Sundet); "Perceived Control and Decision-Making Process to Participate in AE" (Garrison); "Commonalities of Self-Directed Learning (SDL) and Learning in Self-Help Groups" (Hammerman); "Impact of Feminism on AE" (Hayes, Smith); "Analysis of Structural Factors Associated with Participation in State-Funded Adult Basic Education Programs" (Huang et al.); "Epistemological Theory and Some Consequences for AE" (Inkster); "AE, Social Reconstruction, and New Deal" (Jones); "Peter the Great" (Long); "Work, Love, and Learning in Adult Life" (Merriam, Clark); "Transformation Theory of AL" (Mezirow); "Intentional Culture Change by Managers within an Organization" (O'Neill); "Adult Students in Film" (Pittman); "History and Social Policy Development of GED in USA and Canada" (Quigley); "Learning from Practitioners" (Rogers, McDonald); "Beyond Rhetoric" (Rose); "Volunteers as Learners and Educators" (Ross-Gordon, Dowling) "Applying Action Science to Collective Knowledge Generation in Professional Development Program" (Rossing); "Educational Program

Development Approaches Associated with Caribbean Extension Programs" (Sandmann); "Traditional and Reentry Women Nursing Majors" (Scott, Murk); "Exploring AL in Arts" (Sgroi); "Public Librarians as Facilitators of SDL" (Smith, Sisco); "Rhetoric and Reality" (Sork); "Voluntary Participation" (Stalker); "John Dewey and AE" (Stein); "Continuing Professional Education of Industry-Based Engineers and Scientists" (Tait); "Clarifying Theory through Operationalizing Constructs" (Norland, Heimlich); "Search for Self and Community" (Warren); and "Toward a Theory of Informal and Incidental Learning" (Watkins, Marsick). (MN)

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31st Annual Adult Education Research Conference AERC

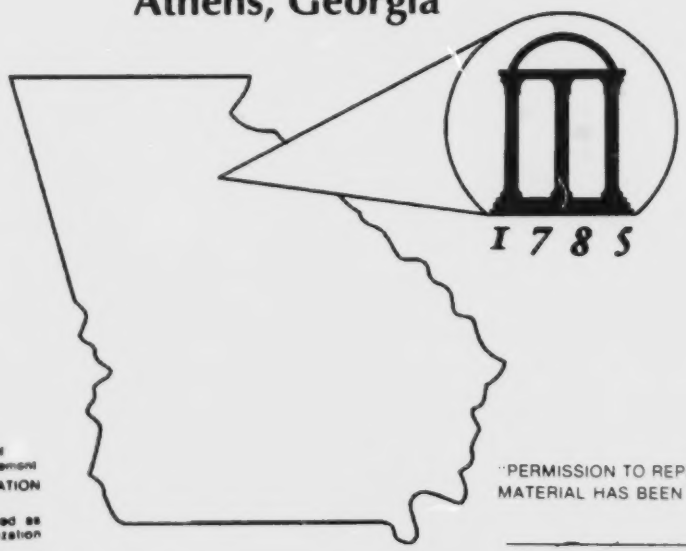
PROCEEDINGS

May 18 - 20, 1990

at the

Georgia Center for Continuing Education
The University of Georgia

Athens, Georgia



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31st Annual Adult Education Research Conference (AERC)

PROCEEDINGS

May 18-20, 1990

The University of Georgia

The University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia

Compiled by: Pam Kleiber and Libby Tisdell
Local Arrangements Committee

NOTICE

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May 18, 1990

On behalf of the Adult Education Research Conference Steering Committee, welcome to the 31st Adult Education Research Conference. Two years in the making, it represents the collaborative efforts of many including the steering committee, the local arrangements committee, presenters of papers, posters and symposia, and countless others.

This collaborative effort exemplifies what is so important in the fields of adult and continuing education - our commitment to enhancing our understanding and practice of adult education. Opportunities for dialogue among and between researchers and practitioners are critical. Each shares common concerns and questions. Each brings a different perspective to their resolution. Through the application of research findings to practice and the struggle to resolve the practical problems through research, our mutual enterprises of adult, continuing and community education are advanced.

Again, a warm welcome to a special opportunity for fellowship and learning within the fine tradition of Southern hospitality. Enjoy!

Chère Campbell Gibson, Chair
Adult Education Research Conference Steering Committee

AERC Steering Committee

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The University of Georgia

College of Education
Department of Adult Education
Georgia Center for Continuing Education

May 18, 1990

Welcome to the 31st Annual Adult Education Research Conference (AERC). On behalf of the faculty, staff and students in the Department of Adult Education and The Georgia Center for Continuing Education, we extend our greetings and appreciation for your participation in the conference.

The purpose of AERC is to promote the improvement of research and evaluation and to foster professional collaboration among scholars who promote research, conduct research, and utilize research findings in the field of adult education. This purpose has been central in the planning efforts for the conference. It is our strong belief that the agenda is impressive and that the combination of presentations, and opportunities for informal gathering and discussion will advance the purpose of AERC.

We congratulate the presenters on the culmination of their scholarship and thank them for traveling from various locations around the world to share their research. We also thank the AERC Steering Committee and the Local Arrangements Committee for their diligent work in preparation for this conference.

It is our sincere hope that you enjoy your residential learning experience at the Georgia Center for Continuing Education and that you take time to enjoy the campus and Athens, Georgia. We are pleased to have you here.

Bradley Courtenay
Co-Chair of AERC, and
Chair, Department of Adult Education
The University of Georgia

Edward G. Simpson, Jr.
Co-Chair of AERC, and
Director, Georgia Center
for Continuing Education
The University of Georgia

May 18, 1990

Dear **AERC** Conferees:

It is with great pleasure that we welcome you to the **31st Annual Adult Education Research Conference** here at the Georgia Center for Continuing Education on The University of Georgia campus. We have enjoyed our time together preparing for your arrival.

We planned this convention in the context of a conference planning class. We told conference planning stories, laughed a lot, and solved the expected and unexpected "snags." You will be hearing about our "snag solving" experiences in a more creative form of communication during the course of this conference.

To make a long story short, in typical good adult education form, we shared our experiences and critically reflected on them, resulting in this particular practice of conference implementation. We now look forward to sharing this conference experience with you. Please let us know of any way that we can assist you during your stay.

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Pam Kleiber
Cate McKinney
Nancy Moore
Ann Sears
Libby Tisdell

Class Facilitators: Donna Butler, Carol Downs, and Bernie Moore

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EXTENDING EQUALITY

Equity and Entitlement

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Haringey Education Service, London, UK

Abstract

This is a conceptual paper which seeks to critically reflect upon the notion of equal opportunities as mere rhetoric, and to argue that in practice the notion needs to be refined if it is to remain a significant assumption in the process of social transformation. The paper argues for a consideration of the notion of equity, which has only recently found its way into the British education system, linked to the notion of curriculum entitlement, but has for nearly a decade been an important idea in North American education.

Statement of the Problem

In April 1990, the 1988 Education Reform Act (ERA) took effect in the United Kingdom. Although largely concerned with the compulsory sector, Clauses 81 to 143 in Part II of the Act refer specifically to post-compulsory education. There are many facets to this Education Reform Act, not all of which have been fully realized, most of which focus on the relationship between Local Education Authorities (LEAs) and the educational institutions within their local authority boundaries. A key feature is the decentralization of the financial management of schools and colleges. Adult education provision is affected insofar as it is provided through colleges or polytechnics. The Local Management System (LMS) affects the traditional relationship with the LEA which previously held the purse strings of each institution. Given that through schemes of delegation, each school and college (and in some cases, the Adult Education Service) will take responsibility for their own budget and various concomitant activities. The necessarily affects the role of the LEA with respect to those educational institutions, which now focuses primarily on ensuring that each institution works towards its statement of intent, and on quality assurance.

The stimulus for this paper has come from the experience of working for both a curriculum development organization and a Local Education Authority in the United Kingdom which have both introduced the notion of equity into the discourse of education policy-making, in both cases as a response to the implementation of ERA. The Further Education Unit's *Towards a Framework for Curriculum Entitlement* was produced as a response to the ERA. It essentially describes the type of educational processes that will facilitate learning and provide an appropriate learning environment for everyone. The publication introduces the notion of curriculum entitlement as an obligation on providers rather than on learners. In other words, educational objectives should start and finish with the needs of individual learners. Curriculum entitlement refers to:

- the program content to which learners should have access
- the modes of learning to which everyone should be entitled (procedures)
- identification of the learners for whom curriculum entitlement should be provided (eligibility)

A key feature of program content is the increasing emphasis on a common curriculum framework within post-compulsory education. In a recent publication the Further Education Unit[1] suggested that there should be common learning themes applied to all learning programs regardless of content. These common learning

[1] Further Education Unit, *Relevance, Flexibility and Competence* (FEU, 1987)

themes can be identified through the analysis of learner needs, the integration of education, training and work, the value of prior learning, the development of a negotiated but balanced curriculum (relevance), supported through flexible timetabling, allowing individual progress, use of profiling and records of achievement, modularization and credit accumulation (flexibility), and providing programs delivering a broad range of skills, knowledge, experience and attitudes, working towards accepted national standards (competence).

In terms of procedures such as learner-centredness, maximized accessibility, integrated curriculum, guidance and counselling personal development and optimized progression, it is possible to identify a common framework which can be implemented with all learners over the age of 14. 'No one should be denied access to successful learning strategies and enriching curriculum elements and they should form part of the educational entitlement for everyone over the age of 14'. Hence, a key aspect of the framework of curriculum entitlement is equal opportunities, which recognizes that

- learners are of equal value regardless of their individual strengths and weaknesses
- learners have access to appropriate programmes in the locality within the prevailing physical and financial constraints
- learners have the opportunity and positive encouragement to maximize their own potential achievement;
- all learners are treated equally and benefit from certain common experiences, regardless of the nature of their learning programs.

This is a starting point, and implies that institutions should move from equality of access, through equality of achievement, towards equality of outcomes (having equal regard for different outcomes). Eligibility is a matter of deciding whether learners are entitled to a certain 'volume' of education or training post-16 without being required to pay fees, or whether it matters at what age they decide to participate.

The London Borough of Haringey has produced its own policy statement for Post-16 Education[2]. Its mission is to develop a comprehensive education service to provide adequate community and further education provision for its residents and communities. It has several central purposes related to this mission, such as providing a broad and balanced curriculum, to be comprehensive, responsive to needs, to maximize personal development, to work in co-operation and partnership with voluntary, private and public organizations, to be accountable and to set and achieve clear targets of efficiency, effectiveness, effectiveness, economy and equity.

However, equity is not defined. Indeed, its only reference to equity is as part of the evaluation process. Earlier It would appear that the notion of equity is treated as the same as that of equal opportunities. From an evaluation point of view, one needs to know whether this is the case, and wether in investigating equity, along with eficiency, economy, and effectiveness, one can use the same performance indicators. From the practitioner's point of view, one needs to know whether the use of this notion is intended to be more than rhetoric, whether it has meanings which intend to influence practice, and whether the notion is significantly different from the idea of equality of opportunity which has been a feature of educational policy-making in Britain for over a decade, without realising any major degree of social transformation, even in people's consciousness.

Methodology: Literature Review

It is clear that the idea as used in Haringey was picked up from the FEU document on curriculum entitlement. However, that document contains no specific definition of equity. Indeed, the section on equity appears to be particularly vague. Reference to the tension between quality and cost-effectiveness, the role of

[2] Haringey Education Service, *Post-16 Curriculum Policy Statement* (Haringey Council, 1989)

the provider in mediating between learner aspiration, available and potential provision, and realistic progression opportunities offers only a clue as to the meaning of equity:'In this mediation process, the college entitlement policy will be the yardstick by which the equity of provision is judged'.[3] Essentially, the two questions are (i) did clients (students/employers) get what they needed? (minimum);(ii) Did they get all that we could provide? (maximum). The difference between the minimum and the maximum entitlements is clearly an issue of quality, but is it also one of equality or equity? There is no further discussion of this but there are further clues in Appendix 2, in which an example of 'good practice' is presented. This states that all students should be entitled to:

• Equality of *access*	- for all, to all, through a variety of routes
• Equality of *opportunities*	- to fulfil their true potential
• Equality of *respect*	- regardless of perceived abilities, gender, race, social background, age, religion or creed
• Equality of *esteem*	- of self and by every member of the college community.

There is a specific intention to *counter* the inherent disadvantages of disability, gender, race and social class.

This document, however, was not the first one in British education to address the issue of entitlement and equity. in 1983, Byrne introduced the notion of entitlement and examined the differences between equality and equity in a European perspective[4]. She argues that the failure of the British attempt to achieve an educational equality programme is due to the persistent refusal to define what is meant by equality.

Description of the Data

The data suggest that there is a difference between equality and equity, but that it remains unclear exactly what that difference is. For this reason it is necessary to engage in a theoretical discussion of the two ideas in order to ascertain the value of one over the other, as well as the theoretical and ideological underpinnings of each. In summary my position is that

- Equity is not the same as equality
- Equity may mean **more**, not **less**, inequalities
- Educational inequalities should be **reversed** not **eradicated**
- Equity takes us beyond equality of **opportunities**, but applies to all phases of educational provision
- Equity does not mean mediocrity
- Affirmative action may be a non-educational response to inequalities
- Equity as a concept has two major problems:
  - its measurement
  - its ideology

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[3] Further Education Unit, *Towards a Framework for Curriculum Entitlement* (FEU, London, 1989; p.14)
[4] E.Byrne, 'Equality or equity? A European overview' in M.Arnot (ed) *Race and Gender: Equal Opportunities Policies in Education* (Open University/Pergamon Press, 1985); pp. 97-111

Equity is not the same as equality

Secada, in his edited collection, argues that equity, while related to equality, should be seen as a different construct, 'we need to articulate where equity and equality overlap as well as where they don't'.[5]

He posits that equity in education is a uniquely American notion. Elsewhere, and including Britain, the concern is still for equality. Further, equality often gets defined in terms of its opposite - inequality . His extensive review of the literature demonstrates that equity and equality are treated as interchangeable. But they are not, for equity has its focus on the notion of social justice, which relates to its legal origins, rooted in the philosophy of Aristotle. But it goes beyond the written law:

> The heart of equity lies in our ability to acknowledge that, even though our actions might be in accord with a set of rules, their results may be unjust. Equity goes beyond following those rules, even if we have agreed that they are intended to achieve justice. Equity gauges the results of actions directly against standards of justice ... Educational equity, therefore, should be construed as a check on the justice of specific actions that are carried out from within the educational arena and the arrangements that result from those actions.[6]

Thus, equity takes us beyond equal opportunities because it concerns itself with outcomes, not just intentions. Byrne says that equality and equity are complementary rather than alternatives.[7] This may be so, but each has different underlying ideologies, and principles for action that need to be considered critically and carefully.

Equity may mean **more**, *not* **less** *inequalities*

It also extends the notion of equality because it brings into question the idea of sameness versus difference. For many people, being equal means having the same. Indeed, one commonly hears this as an argument against socialism, which is simplistically understood as being about equality which means ensuring that everybody has the same. Byrne believes that 'without reservation, *equal means the same*'[8]. Thus, applied to the social distribution of goods, everyone should have the same. It is with this meaning that she approached the notion of entitlement, quoting - with approval - from the Danish Ministry of Education in 1978::

> All citizens must be entitled to the same amount of education ... the same resource-equality ... if not in the young years, then he or she must be entitled to retrieve the situation later on, for example, in the form of a preferential right of adult education.[9]

Applied to education, everyone should have the same opportunities for access. A very laudable intention, but does it go far enough? Does this mean a core curriculum? Does this mean uniformity? Shouldn't we be providing unequal access to some groups, to compensate for a range of social disadvantages? For example, Green argues not only that the unequal distribution of college attendance as a function of academic aptitude is equitable but also that an equal distribution of college attendance among students of differing ability groups would, in fact, be inequitable.[10] Only some inequalities are inequitable: 'Inequity always implies injustice. Inequality does not.'

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[5] W.Secada, 'Introduction' to W.G.Secada (ed), *Equity in Education* (Falmer Press, Lewes, 1989); p.4
[6] Secada, 'Educational equity versus equality of education: an alternative conception' in W.G.Secada (ed) op. cit. pp 68-69
[7] Byrne, op.cit. p.99
[8] ibid; p. 100
[9] ibid; p. 102
[10] T.F.Green, 'Excellence, equity and equality' in L.S.Schulman and G.Sykes (eds), *Handbook of Teaching and Policy* (Longman, New York, 1983); pp. 318-341

Educational inequalities should be **reversed** *not* **eradicated**

If we accept that equity and equality are not the same thing, then we can go further and posit that equity may be achieved through the reversal of inequalities rather than their eradication. The possibility of being able to eradicate inequalities is utopian. Whilst many inequalities are socially defined, and can therefore be eradicated through social processes of transforming definitions, others are not social in origin, and are frequently cited in arguments against equality - because by nature people are not equal. We live in a world where we are constantly reminded that women are not equal to men, blacks are not equal to whites, the least able are not equal to the most able, the poor are not equal to the rich, and so on. For some, this is the natural order of things, and evidence of biological, innate, physical factors would support this[11]. For those of us who disagree, many hours are spent trying to counter such evidence. However, we find that social definition theories, theories of patriarchy, cultural imperialism, and so on are hard to completely destroy, and at most we can hope for is compromise in the nature-nurture debate that would permit social or environmental factors to be taken into account. Inequality, we are told, are not only natural and inevitable, but is functionally good for the order of things - it assists in the distribution of labour, the distribution of resources, the distribution of power. if this is so, then we need to turn the world up-side-down - at least in the intermediate term.

Equity is about more than equality of **opportunities**

In Britain there has been much rhetoric about the need for equality of opportunities. Even if we were to accept the notion of equality, the emphasis on opportunities is problematic. In the earlier discussion about entitlement, it is clear that this means more than providing opportunities. It is not only about increasing access, but making participation, inputs, processes and outcomes more equitable. Access to educational provision is an important step, but only part of the process. The educational process also includes what happens within educational institutions such as how students are treated by teachers. Outcomes are equally important, for there is little point in enhancing access for a group if they then are over-represented in the drop-out rates.[12] Outcomes refer to the valued good that the educational system has the power to distribute, and this distribution has to be just.

Equity does not mean mediocrity

In arguments about equal opportunities in education, there is constant reference to the possibility of lowering standards to the lowest common denominator. The search for equality of educational opportunities has led, we are told, to a decline in standards:

> Which way lies equity: making schools easy by routing students around academic courses, especially hard ones, or insisting that all children encounter the academic core even if some of them have a difficult time of it?[13]

Any ideas about equity are easily transformed through the rhetoric of excellence. The assumption is that entitlement if it involves a compulsory core is at odds with excellence. In addressing this question raised in *A Nation At Risk*, Strike[14] argues that the question disguises the fundamental conflict between economic and political goals of education. He suggests that equity and excellence are developed out of different ideologies - human capital theory (economic competence) and Jeffersonian ideals (political competence) - and the two are incompatible.

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[11] S.Selden, 'The use of biology to legitimate inequality: the Eugenics Movement within the high school textbook, 1914 to 1949' in Secada (ed), op.cit; pp. 118-145

[12] W.B.Brookover and L.Lezotte, 'Educational equity: a democratic principle at a crossroads' *The Urban Review*, vol. 13, no. 2, 1981

[13] T.M.Tomlinson, *A Nation at Risk: Background for a Working Paper* in T.M.Tomlinson and H.J.Walberg (eds), *Academic Work and Educational Excellence: Raising Student Productivity* (McCutchan, Berkeley, 1986); p.16

[14] K.Strike, 'Is there conflict between equity and excellence?' *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis*, Winter, vol. 7, no. 4, 1985; pp. 409-416

Affirmative action as a non-educational response

Secada's position is that no one could deny the existence of disparities, nor the need to address them. The real issue is how to interpret the disparities and what kind of response education can and should make. For him, 'these disparities represent an injustice in the educational system's distribution of its goods and that affirmative steps should be taken to remedy those injustices.[15] Affirmative action will not always be educational. For example, it may be determined by policy decisions to appoint more blacks, more disabled, more women to posts in which they are typically under-represented. Whilst I am sympathetic to such affirmative action, I would be concerned if such appointments were made on non-educational grounds. The reason that groups such as these are often under-represented in certain positions not because of overt discrimination at the selection interview stage, but because these groups have received an inequitable education and training. To place them in a position without the requisite competences, skills and knowledge to be successful will only serve to reinforce inequity. The situation can only be addressed through more equitable education and training.

Conclusions: The Problem with Equity

The brevity of this paper has meant that the issues can only be raised, not thoroughly discussed. As Secada hoped to achieve through the publication of his edited collection of papers, the goal is to bring equity into the discourse of the education debate and to take that debate further by critically reflecting on the new insights that the concept of equity brings with it. For Secada, this is a question of recovering a concept that has been transformed by the rhetoric of excellence. In Britain, it is more a question of looking across the Atlantic for lessons to take forward and build into policies surrounding curriculum entitlement.

It is likely that equity as a concept which informs practice will not provide all the answers. There are two sets of problems with the idea, as I see it. Firstly, as an evaluator we have to confront problems of methodology. How can we evaluate equity? Attempts have been made which we can take into account. For example, Harvey and Klein provide a thought-provoking framework which they offer a vehicle for researching equity, discussing problems of measurement, and the question of validity. A major difficulty that remains for these authors, however, is the meaning of equity. The second set of problems are to do with the ideological assumptions behind the notion of equity. Michael Apple has convincingly argued that the notion of 'equality' in education has been retrogressively redefined:

> Equality, no matter how limited or broadly conceived, has become redefined. No longer is it seen as linked to past group oppression and disadvantagement. it is simply now a case of guaranteeing individual choice under the conditions of a 'free market'. Thus, the current emphasis on 'excellence' ... has shifted educational discourse so that underachievement is once again increasingly seen as largely the fault of the student.[16]

The problem with equality of opportunities is that it was very much a product of a liberal ideology, which proved ultimately to be little more than rhetoric, and which at a time of a right-wing backlash has the individualism at its root exposed. Unfortunately, on the face of it, equity appears to do little more than attempt to recover the ground for humanistic liberalism. A review of the earlier discussions about curriculum entitlement, and the concomitant emphasis on student-centred, individualized, customized learning and the emphasis on meeting individual needs found in my own borough's policy documents gives little confidence that we are contributing to a socialist transformation. It may, however, be possible to eventually rescue the notion of equity and bring it into the discourse of social democracy, by relating it more cogently and coherently to a marxist theory of human needs.

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[15] Secada, 'Introduction', op.cit; p. 3
[16] M.W.Apple, 'How equality has been redefined in the Conservative restoration' in Secada (ed), op.cit; p.9

A PHENOMENOLOGY OF EMERGENT MEANING FROM DIALECTICAL QUESTIONING AND ANSWERING IN ADULT LEARNING: WESTERN AND CHINESE PERSPECTIVES

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Abstract This paper is based on a phenomenological investigation of the process(es) of emergent meaning within the dialectical process of questioning and answering in adult learning. Examples of the phenomena occurring in both Chinese and Western cultures were intuited, described, and analyzed. A model has been developed to illustrate the essential structures.

Background and Rationale Questioning is as natural a part of teaching as it is of learning, and it is central to learning (Groisser, 1964; Wilen, 1986). Hunkins (1972) notes, "For over two thousand years since the Greek philosopher, Socrates, used a method of questioning to arrive at a definition, the question has been a part of teaching" (p. 1). People learn what is meaningful to them principally through the dialectical process of questioning and answering (Ausubel, 1963).

In Western philosophy, the study of the dialectical process of questioning and answering can be traced back as early as the Socratic (469-399 B.C.) and Platonic (427-347 B.C.) periods. In Chinese philosophy, the study of the dialectical process of questioning and answering can be traced back as early as Confucius (551-479 B.C.) and Mo Tzu (c.479-c.381 B.C.). In contemporary Western philosophy, Gadamer (1975) claims that the dialectic takes place in the exchanges of conversation and dialogue, and in question and answer rather than in assertion. In contemporary Chinese philosophy, Mao (1937) claimed, "The law of contradiction in things, that is, the law of the opposites, is the basic law of materialist dialectics" (p. 311).

The fundamental purpose of questioning and answering is the search for meaning on the part of all learners (Groisser, 1964; Wilen, 1986). Meaning is what is intended by people in all communication (Ogden and Richards, 1923). Meaning is also what learners intend to learn through a questioning and answering process. There is felt meaning and experienced meaning as well as meaning in the predictive stage, or meaning as the product of reason and intent. Meaning emerges for adult learners as they feel, experience and reflect on questions of relevance in the dialectical process of questioning and answering (Stanage, 1987).

Persons have long used the dialectic in the process of questioning and answering in their quests for meaning. However, the essential structures of the dialectical process of questioning and answering apparently have not been seriously investigated in the literature of adult education either in the West or in China. It is not yet clear philosophically how meaning in learning emerges within the

dialectical process of questioning and answering, especially in adult learning situations. There is a great need to provide a foundational or philosophical study of this problem.

Statement of the Problem The central problem of this investigation is: Through what process(es) does meaning within the dialectical process of questioning and answering in adult learning emerge?

Three research questions are specifically related to this problem.

1. Are there certain essential structures of emergent meaning in the dialectical process of questioning and answering in adult learning?
2. Are there certain degrees and kinds of questions which might lead to answers attesting more meaningful learning among adults?
3. Are there certain degrees and kinds of questions which might lead to identifiable similarities and differences in meaningful learning among Chinese and American adult learners?

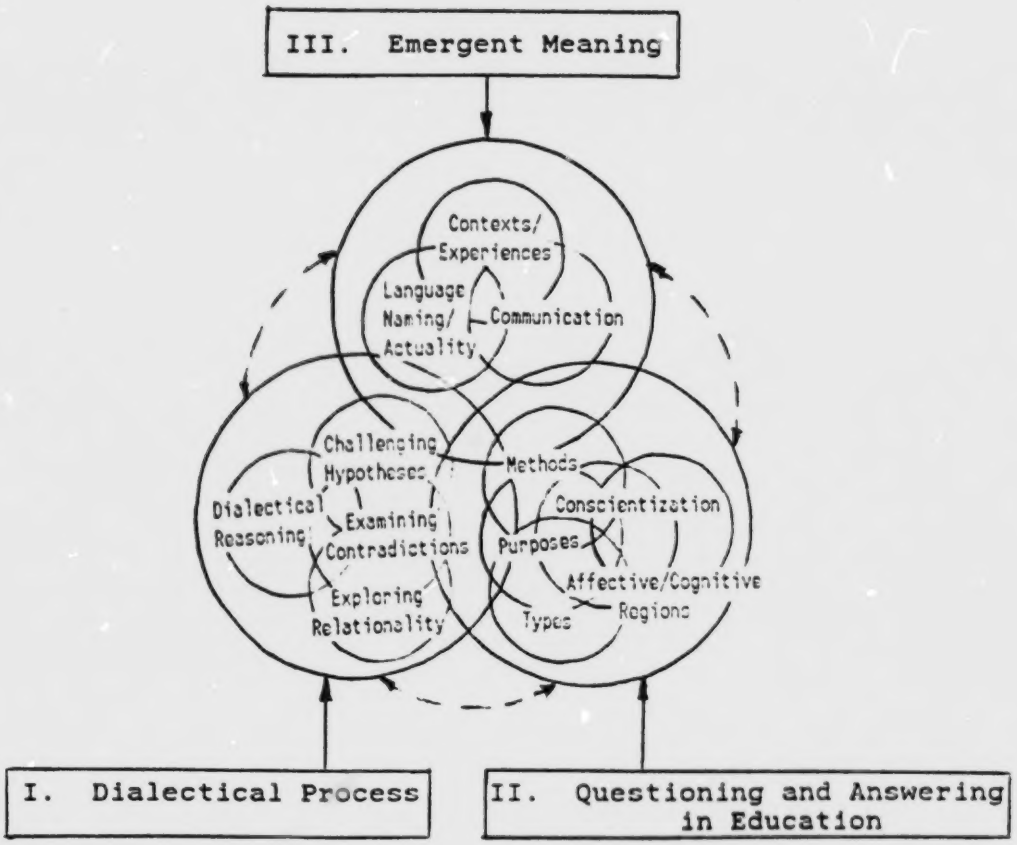
Methodology A direct investigation and description of the phenomena of the dialectical process of questioning and answering and the emergence of meaning in adult learning as consciously experienced has been offered. This investigation has been undertaken without theories about the causal explanation (of these phenomena) and it has been kept as free as possible from unexamined preconceptions and presuppositions. The method of free variation has been used. It has led to the description of invariant or essential structures of the dialectical process of questioning and answering and to the emergence of meaning in adult learning.

Carefully gathered examples both from my own experiences and from the experiences of others have been submitted to this free variation. Different adult learning situations in both Chinese and American cultures have been studied. An intentional analysis of the concrete experiences of dialectical process of questioning and answering and the emergence of meaning in adult learning has been offered. A description of how these particular experiences have been constructed also has been provided. The relevant ingredients of the dialectical process of questioning and answering, and the emergence of meaning in adult learning within a person's life which are issued forth or educed, have been examined.

Selected dialectical ideas of Western and Chinese philosophers have been carefully examined. These dialectical ideas have provided a conceptual framework for investigating the essential structures of the dialectical process of questioning and answering. Selected educational ideas about questioning and answering, and selected ideas about meaning, have also been examined carefully. These ideas have provided a conceptual framework for investigating the emergence of meaning in adult learning within the dialectical process of questioning and answering.

Description of the Data It was found in this investigation that there were certain essential structures of emergent meaning in the process of dialectical questioning and answering in adult learning. These essential structures can be illustrated in the following model consisting of three major conceptual frameworks, each having its own interrelated concepts. The major conceptual frameworks represented by three big intersecting circles are: (I) the dialectical process, (II) the questioning and answering process in education, and (III) emergent meaning.

Essential Structures of Emergent Meaning in the Process of Dialectical Questioning and Answering in Adult Learning



The conceptual framework of the dialectical process (I) includes such concepts as challenging hypotheses, examining contradictions, exploring relationality, and dialectical reasoning. The conceptual framework of questioning and answering (II) includes such concepts as purposes, types, methods, the affective region, the cognitive region, and conscientization. The conceptual framework of emergent meaning (III) includes such concepts as language, naming and

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actuality, contexts and experiences, and communication. These concepts are represented by the small intersecting circles within the three major conceptual frameworks.

It was found in this investigation that the degrees and kinds of questions which may lead to answers which attest to more meaningful learning among adults, had a great deal to do with such factors as adult learners' feelings toward the dialectical process of questioning and answering, their natural language, their perceptions of naming and actuality, and the contexts of their experiences.

If adult learners are open-minded toward different points of views in a supportive learning environment, they are likely to be engaged in significant degrees and kinds of dialectical process of questioning and answering. In order for adult learners to be engaged in rich degrees of the dialectical process of questioning and answering in the search for meaningful learning, they must keep their discourse focussed on ideas rather than on persons, that is, be constantly on guard against ad hominem or personal attacks.

The interaction of contexts and experiences of adult learners will influence the kinds of questions that they would like to ask. Three types of dialectical questions, namely the questions that challenge hypotheses, examine contradictions, and explore relationality, may deal with any questions in the search for meaning by adult learners in the dialectical process of questioning and answering.

The following identifiable similarities in meaningful learning between Chinese and American adult learners were found in this investigation.

(a) The kinds of questions which examine contradictions and explore relationality tend to be meaningful to both Chinese and American adult learners. It might be due to similar ideas concerning contradictions and relationality in both Western and Chinese dialectic.

(b) Meaningful learning of both Chinese and American adult learners in the dialectical process of questioning and answering could be affected by such factors as the degrees of learners' open-mindedness, learning environment, contexts, and experiences.

(c) The dialectical process of questioning and answering may lead to meaningful learning among both Chinese and American adult learners at any level of their learning. For example, meaning may emerge in attempts to be literate, in learning English as a second language, and in debating controversial historical issues.

(d) Both Chinese and American adult learners may share similar cognitive processes in their meaningful learning in the dialectical process of questioning and answering. The felt-experience and conscioused-experience of adult learners are the bases of knowing what they want to know when they are engaged in questioning and answering.

(e) It may be a common characteristic for both Chinese and American adult learners that questioning and answering usually take place as a result of the interaction between

Conclusions This phenomenological investigation has provided a number of implications for teaching and learning that may assist adult educators in developing better questioning and answering methods and skills in working with Chinese and American adult learners, and in assisting Chinese and American adult learners to understand that meaning which is emergent in their learning. These implications include, but are not limited to, the following:

Adult educators may facilitate the dialectical process of questioning and answering to help adult learners seek meaning at all levels of their learning. Adult learners may be guided in the development of their ability to ask questions that challenge hypotheses, examine contradictions, and explore relationality so that meaning may emerge in their learning.

Adult educators should be aware of the fact that the dialectical process of questioning and answering can result in either a feeling of being rewarded or in a feeling of frustration in adult learning. Meaning in adult learning is likely to emerge through the feeling of being rewarded. Open-mindedness is a prerequisite to the feeling of being rewarded in learning through the dialectical process of questioning and answering. Adult learners may be guided in discussing issues that are relevant to their experiences and contexts so that they may be able to ask meaningful questions and offer meaningful responses as possible relevant answers.

Adult educators seeking to foster meaningful learning through dialectical questioning must take note of cultural differences and need to build a supportive learning environment. Adult learners may become aware of the emergent meaning in their learning when they feel their learning to be enjoyable, rewarding, interesting, and useful in the dialectical process of questioning and answering.

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their contexts and experiences. The interaction of context and experience may affect adult learners' emergent meaning during their communication in the dialectical process of questioning and answering.

The following identifiable differences in meaningful learning between Chinese and American adult learners were found in this investigation.

(a) American adult learners may find it more meaningful to understand questions within a context of highly hypothetical questions than Chinese adult learners do. This phenomenon may be the result of the traditional uses of the concepts of hypotheses in Western dialectic. The idea of rectifying the names is unique to Chinese dialectic. The traditional Chinese emphasis on the relationships between the naming and actuality tends to lessen the ability of the Chinese adult learners to feel, experience, and understand the emergence of meaning within a context of highly hypothetical questions.

(b) The different process of traditional Chinese and American dialectical reasoning may affect emergent meaning in learning among Chinese and American adult learners in the dialectical process of questioning and answering. The use of the logic of probability and definition tend to be more typical in dialectical reasoning in Western philosophy. The three laws of reasoning, namely finding a basis, doing a survey and applying the principle, tend to be more typical in dialectical reasoning in Chinese tradition. However, it must be noted that the use of illustrations, the process of affirmation and negation, and the exploration of relationality are characteristics of dialectical reasoning common to both Western and Chinese traditions.

(c) Cultural differences may also result in different feelings toward the dialectical process of questioning and answering. The dialectical questioning and answering is assertive in nature. Chinese adult learners may be restrained or reserved in dialectical questioning and answering. Be critical to each other may be regarded as being offensive due to Chinese cultural norms. American adult learners may feel less restrained in dialectical questioning and answering due to American cultural norms. However, it is crucial in assuring both Chinese and American adult learners that they should not try to take personally any opposing points of view in the dialectical process of questioning and answering.

(d) A clear understanding of the meanings of words in a language is extremely important for the emergent meaning in adult learning in the dialectical process of questioning and answering. Different levels of abstraction in the meaning of a word in Chinese and English may result in a different understanding of the word for both Chinese and American students. For example, the Chinese students tend to find the word "meaning" highly abstract, but the American students tend to think of it as less abstract. As a consequence, the emergent meaning which came through their responding to the questions about "meaning" was very different for the Chinese and American students.

A STUDY OF THE STRUCTURAL DIMENSIONS AND PREDICTIVE CAPABILITY OF THE ADULT ATTITUDES TOWARD CONTINUING EDUCATION SCALE AND THE EDUCATION PARTICIPATION SCALE

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Attempts to develop instruments to quantify psychological constructs thought to be influential in determining participant behaviour, have focussed on two areas, attitudes towards adult education and motivational orientations to participate. This study investigated tne factor structure, robustness and capability to predict participative behavior of two instruments, the Adult Attitudes Toward Adult Education Scale (AACES) and the Education Participation Scale (EPS). Results indicate that the factor structure of the EPS is robust and that the AACES is multidimensional with unstable factors. The best predictor of participative behavior was the total AACES scale score. It was concluded that the scales are measuring related psychological phenomena, that further construct validation of the two scales is required and additional efforts are required to develop the AACES.

Decisions related to participation, persistence and drop out are widely recognised to be influenced by many psychological variables. Attempts to develop reliable and valid instruments to quantify these variables have focussed on two broad constructs, motivational orientations to participate (Boshier 1971, 1972 & 1976; Boshier & Collins 1985; Burgess 1971) and more recently, attitudes toward adult education (Blunt 1983; Darkenwald & Hayes 1988; Darkenwald 1989). The two instruments studied, the Adult Attitudes Towards Continuing Education Scale (AACES) and the Education Participation Scale (EPS) which measures motivational orientations toward participation, have both been developed using the same Likert scaling and factor analytic procedures.

The origins of each scale are linked to the works of Houle. Darkenwald and Hayes (1988) in noting that few attempts have been made to assess attitudes towards continuing education quote Houle to support the importance of the research, "Every adult has a basic orientation to education, an underlying conviction of it's nature and value which influences his or her opinion about, and participation in learning, (Houle 1985)". Although the writers do not rely on Houle for their definition of attitude they appear to equate Houle's term "orientation" with their operational definition of attitude," An internal state which affects an individual's choice of action toward some object, person or event". However the writers do not refer to the extensive research investigating Houle's

typology of motivational orientations (Boshier 1976; Boshier & Collins 1985).

Boshier (1985) has documented and critiqued the extensive research on motivational orientations, which has its origins in Houle's, *The Inquiring Mind* (Houle 1961). However, no attention has been paid by Boshier to the reported multi-factorial nature of attitudes toward adult education (Blunt 1983; Darkenwald 1989) and the possible close relationship between attitudes and motivational orientations. While Boshier (1977) has extended the research beyond measurement of motivational orientations, to present a conceptual model which attributes meaning to EPS factors, an alternative interpretation of the factor meanings within a conceptual framework which links attitudes, personality and motivational orientations remains plausible.

Both the AACES and the EPS are multi-factorial with the EPS having six factors and the AACES three. The exclusivity of the two constructs each scale claims to measure and the comparative capabilities of the two instruments to predict participative behavior have not been investigated. The extent to which additional "factors" may influence decisions of members of specific groups is also still unknown. Boshier (1978) has pointed out that EPS items concerned with professional advancement are irrelevant to senior citizens (but do seniors have additional specific motives to attend?) and Clayton and Smith (1987) have identified motives of specific relevance to re-entry women. Persons enrolled in continuing professional education, adult basic education and ESL programs are likely to have specific motives to participate not fully quantified by the EPS. It would appear that the EPS may have achieved parsimony, reliability and reproducibility in a highly efficient 40 item scale which captures the most ubiquitous motivational orientations. However, the empirical mapping of psychological influences upon participation is likely not yet complete.

The hypothesis guiding this research is drawn from the early work of Burt regarding the structure of personality (Burt 1941). Burt, Cattell and others, framed their research around a description of the four kinds of factors that the procedure of factor analysis can provide: general, specific, group and error. General factors are found in all measures, specific factors are limited to a single measure, group factors are involved in more than one but not all measures and error factors are the result of poor measurement and experimental control procedures. It is posited here that Boshier and others have identified group factors whose effects account for a substantial proportion of the variation in motivation to participate. It is further posited that attempts to measure the construct of attitude are a

search for a general factor and that a hierarchical or nested structure of factors may emerge from these two research approaches.

Statement of the problem.

The purpose of this study was to investigate the factor structure of the AACES and the EPS to: a) determine whether or not the constructs upon which they are based are related, b) test the factor robustness of the two scales, and c) assess the ability of each to predict participative behaviour.

Methodology.

The 40 item EPS and the 22 item AACES were printed as separate scales in a single questionnaire. The response instructions, item order and the scaling categories were reproduced exactly as the scale developers had used them previously. A five item behavioural index (BI) similar to the four item index used by Darkenwald and Hayes (1988) was constructed. The items sought Yes/No responses to questions about the respondents' recent adult education participation, their annual participation, whether they were active learners, whether they had suggested that others participate in adult education and whether or not they had claimed adult education fees as an income tax deduction. In addition the questionnaire sought information on four basic descriptive socio-demographic variables; age, sex, number of years of schooling and years of post secondary education completed.

Data Analysis and Results.

Subjects for the study were 307 adults enrolled in a variety of adult education programs offered by the University of Saskatchewan and other adult education agencies in the Province of Saskatchewan. The population consisted of 195 males (63.5%) and 112 females (36.5%), with a mean age of 34.1 years (sd 10.7 yrs) and a mean of 14.3 years (sd 2.5 yrs) of formal schooling completed. The scores on the 5 item behavioral Index (BI) ranged from 1 to 5 with a mean index score of 3.3 (sd 1.3). Clearly the subjects were highly educated CE participants and differ in that respect from the subjects used to develop the AACES and the EPS.

Confirmatory Scale Factor Analysis.

The two scales were subjected to confirmatory factor analysis using the SPSS principal components and orthogonal rotation routines. Although 11 factors with eigenvalues greater than 1.0 were derived for the EPS, a six factor solution was accepted which accounted for 56% of the variance.

All items loaded at statistically significant levels although four items had factor loadings between .39 and .35, which is below the .40 criterion used by Boshier. Five items did not load most heavily on their anticipated factors, however this did not seriously effect the interpretation of the factors. The solution obtained was accepted as confirmation of the stability of the EPS factors.

A three factor solution for the AACES was accepted in which all items loaded on one or more factors at significant levels although six factors with eigenvalues greater than 1.0 were derived from an unconstrained analysis. The three factors contributed 46% of the total variance and the lowest item factor loading obtained was .45. (1) Major differences were observed between the factors obtained and the three factors reported by Darkenwald (1989). A review of four, five and six factor solutions did not result in any factors being identified which more closely resembled those previously reported. The principal components analysis revealed 18 of the 22 items loaded on one factor, supporting Darkenwald and Haye's (1988) finding that the scale is largely unidimensional prior to factor rotation. However, AACES was found to be multifactorial and its' factor structure was observed to be unstable.

Construct Exclusivity and Factor Robustness.

To assess the construct exclusivity of the two scales the subjects' factor scores were entered into a 9 x 9 correlation matrix. Inspection revealed five statistically significant correlations among the three AACES factors and five EPS factors. Only one EPS factor, "Social Contact", was not correlated with an AACES factor. The first AACES factor was correlated with three EPS factors, "Escape/Stimulation" ($r=-.19$, $p<.05$), "Cognitive Interest" ($r=.33$, $p<.001$) and "Professional Development" ($r=-.19$, $p<.05$). This AACES factor consisted of five items characterised by the two highest loading factors, "AE would not be of benefit to me" and "AE is not necessary for most people". The second AACES factor consisting of eight items correlated with the EPS "External Expectations" factor ($r=-.50$, $p<.001$). The two highest loading items of this AACES factor were, "I can learn everything I need to know on my own without participating in AE" and "I dislike studying". The third AACES factor characterised by the two items, "Continuing my education would make me feel better about myself" and "Being in a classroom makes me feel uncomfortable" was correlated with the EPS "Social Welfare" factor ($r=.20$, $p<.05$).

A factor analysis of all 62 scale items using an orthogonal rotation was conducted to test the robustness of each factor. Nineteen factors with eigenvalues greater than 1.0 and accounting for 76% of the variance were

identified. A scree test revealed a satisfactory solution of eight factors with eigen values greater than 2.1 which accounted for 52% of the cumulative variance. The eight factors consisted of 29 EPS and 11 AACES items. Factor 1 was the EPS "Social Contact" factor. Factor 2 included 5 AACES items (four of which had clustered in the nine item AACES Factor 2 described earlier) and one EPS "Cognitive Interest" item. Four EPS "Cognitive Interest" items formed Factor 3 and the EPS "Professional Advancement" factor emerged as Factor 4. The fifth factor consisted of the five AACES items which were the balance of the AACES second factor (referred to above). Factors 6,7 and 8 consisted of items representing three EPS factors, "Escape/Stimulation", "Social Welfare" and "External Expectations". One AACES item loaded with the "Social Welfare" factor.

A 9 x 9 matrix of the six EPS and the three AACES factor scores, derived by an oblique rotation, was entered for a second order analysis. An oblique rotation generated a satisfactory four factor solution which accounted for 62% of the total variance. Each factor contributed from 17.7% to 12.4% of the variance. The first, second order factor consisted of the EPS factor, "Professional Advancement" and the first and second AACES factors. The second of the second order factors consisted of the EPS factor "Cognitive Interest" and the third AACES factor. Factor 3 contained the EPS "External Expectations" and "Social Welfare" factors. Factor 4 was comprised of the EPS "Social Relationships" and "Escape/Stimulation" factors.

Predictive Capability.

To test the predictive capabilities of the two scales, scores on the six EPS and the three AACES factors were correlated with the Behavioral Index (BI) scores. Two EPS factors were significantly correlated with BI scores, "Escape/Stimulation" ($r=.20$, $p<.05$) and "Professional Advancement" ($r=.19$, $p<.05$). Only the AACES' Factor 2, was correlated with BI scores ($r=.19$, $p<.05$). However when the AACES total scale score was used (obtained by summing responses over the 22 items) the correlation with BI was .22 ($p<.02$). Stepwise multiple regression analysis confirmed that the three AACES factors displaced the correlated EPS factors when all three were added to the regression equation. AACES was the best predictor of participative behaviour yet purists would claim that scores ought not to be summed on a multifactorial scale.

Conclusions.

The confirmatory factor analysis indicated that the factor structure of the EPS was robust. AACES while having an underlying unidemensionality was shown to be multifactorial and its factors to be

unstable. Four of the EPS factors were correlated with one or more AACES factors, AACES items clustered on EPS factors and second order factor analysis results clearly confirmed that the scale items were measuring related phenomena. The total AACES score was the best predictor of participative behaviour. It was concluded that the EPS and the AACES are not measuring discrete psychological constructs. Factors are latent variables and the relationship between the latent variables of attitude and motivational orientation are a clear indicator of the need for further construct validation of the two scales and for further efforts to establish the unidimensionality or multifactorial structure of the AACES.

(1). AACES Factor structure ; Factor 1 items : 1,6,11,13,14. Factor 2 items : 2,3,4,5,7,9,15,17,22. Factor 3 items : 8,10,12,16,18,19,20,21.

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IDEOLOGICAL AND EPISTEMOLOGICAL FOUNDATIONS OF EDUCATION ABOUT AIDS

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Abstract: AIDS education by public health authorities cast in a functionalist paradigm needs to be supplemented by programs based on interpretivist, radical humanist and structuralist paradigms.

Introduction

AIDS started as a medical curiosity about a decade ago but now shakes the foundations of so-called developed nations and threatens to wipe out decades of development effort in others. Debates concerning ways to stop it rage in parliaments, the public media, village councils and global conferences. Despite the fact "prevention education" has been used to cajole people to buckle seat belts, quit smoking or control birthrates, little is known about the epistemology or ideology of AIDS education. Indeed, many critics have begun to question the extent to which massive investments in education will stop transmission of the virus. Alternatives to education include quarantine for HIV-infected individuals, mandatory testing, travel restrictions, closed borders and expulsion of foreigners.

In the United States the first case of AIDS showed up in 1981 and education about the disease was cast within a "public health" frame of reference where it was assumed that if people had information (about needles, exchanging body fluids etc) their behaviour would change. But as many smokers will attest, simply having information is not enough and by 1989, and the Fifth International Conference on AIDS, it was being cast as both a "scientific and social challenge".

Education about AIDS is not just a rational/technical process of "delivering information" but one embedded in a multiplicity of socio-cultural, political and, above all, economic contexts. While AIDS education serves some interests it threatens others. Thus the purposes of this study were to:
i. Develop a more rigorous theoretical perspective on education about AIDS than has hitherto existed.
ii. Identify conceptual and practical issues spawned by alternative ways of construing AIDS education.

These purposes were attained through an inductive and participary educational process involving Third World researchers who had gathered in Ottawa, Canada, to explore issues related to sexuality research.

Methodology

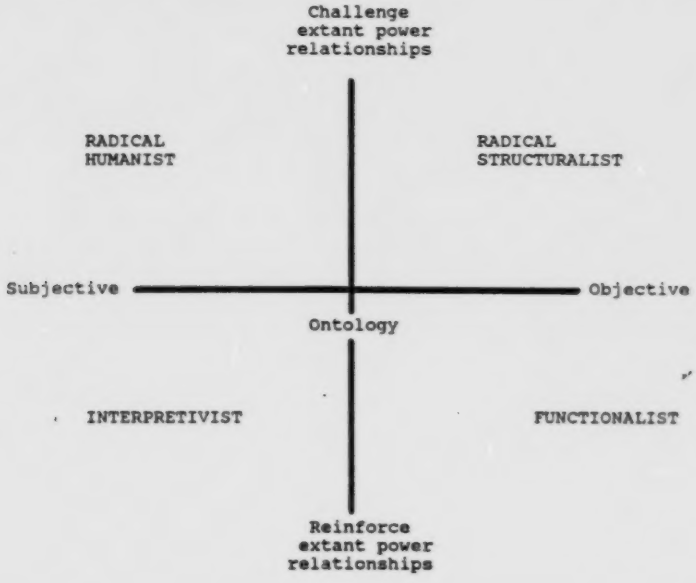
The International Development Research Centre (Ottawa) is a crown corporation financed by the government of Canada and fosters Third World research in five sectors - agriculture, food and nutrition sciences, health sciences, information sciences, social sciences and communications. The AIDS committee is comprised of people from each Division who construe "sexual health" within an ecological framework. In January 1988, the President of IDRC suggested a centrewide response to the AIDS crisis and this led to an invitational workshop held in the first week of June, 1989. The purposes were to (i) help IDRC identify issues pertaining to the future of their sexual research program and (ii) provide a forum wherein Third World scholars interested in sexual health and AIDS could interact and position themselves to do research. The author was recruited to animate the process. During this three-and-a-half day event 38 participants worked on group tasks designed to identify the characteristics of good sexuality research. As participants made reports, engaged in role plays, debated, and shared their largely African and Latin American perspectives, the author made notes and subsequently classified the data obtained within the conceptual model presented here.

Conceptual Model

Ideology, power and perceived group interest buttress any attempt to educate people about AIDS and, even the most neutral-looking program rooted in a public health framework has an ideological frame of reference. Thus the extent to which AIDS education reinforces or challenges extant power relationships is the first variable in the model presented here.

AIDS educators often use the "campaign" as the primary method. Techniques are usually integrated so as to present a unified and inescapable body of "facts" to the populace. These campaigns are usually informed by functionalist assumptions, run by public health authorities, and their architects assume there are objective "facts" about AIDS that need to be "communicated". But what works in one context may not work in another and, if campaign managers fail to have adequate regard to culturally-determined ways of construing sex messages, problems occur. For example, poorly planned condom campaigns have led to situations in East Africa where people wash them in their kitchen sink. On the other hand, there are programs where materials and processes are culturally encoded in appropriate ways and have regard to the fact groups construe sexual concepts and terms differently. Thus, the second dimension in the model presented here is concerned with ontology and AIDS education programs are classified as being based on an objectivist or subjectivist view of reality.

The two axes in Fig. 1 lie in an orthogonal relationship to each other. Treat them like latitude and longitude on a nautical chart. They identify epistemological positions in adult education. Adult educators who have been looking for a "map of the territory" should be able to locate themselves and others within it. Although used here to bound a discussion about AIDS it can be used to analyse a broad array of adult education phenomena. Part of its power resides in the fact it is pluralistic, embraces a broad spectrum of thinking about education, and, we hope, will lead to a lessening of the artillery duels that go on between so-called "positivists" and so-called "post-positivists" (see Boshier, 1989).



This model was based on Burrell and Morgan's (1979) analysis of organization theory and Paulston's (1977) work for the World Bank. The quadrants in Fig. 1 embrace four distinct epistemologies and provide a map for locating similarities and differences between the work of different theorists. Like any map, it shows where you are and might go in the future.

Functionalism provides an essentially "rational" explanation for social affairs. It is the dominant ideology of our time and characterized by a concern for social order, consensus and social integration. Its epistemology tends to be positivist, determinist, and nomothetic. Functionalists want practical solutions to practical problems and are usually committed to social engineering as a basis for change with an emphasis on gradualism, order, and the maintenance of equilibrium. Functionalists attempt to apply models derived from natural sciences to human behaviour. They assume there

is an "objective" world "out there" that consists of observable, lawfully-related empirical entities. Mechanistic and biological analogies appeal to functionalists and, in radical functionalist states - such as Singapore - it is engineers who control adult education.

Adult education movements informed by functionalism include most government training, manpower or reskilling programs, most so-called upgrading programs, most continuing professional education, nearly all technical or vocational training and adult basic education run by schools, colleges and other school-like institutions.

Theorists located within an Interpretive paradigm are "subjectivists" in that "reality" is what it is construed to be. Great effort is devoted to adopting the frame of reference of the participant. Social "reality" is a network of assumptions and "shared meanings". The subjectivist ontological assumptions shared by interpretivists stem from the notion that human affairs are ordered, cohesive and integrated. Interpretivists are more concerned with understanding subjectively construed meanings of the world "as it is" than with any utopian view of how it might be. While they are at the subjectivist end of the ontological dimension, they do not anticipate any threat to extant power relationships.

Adult education movements, perspectives and authors located in this corner include Mezirow, with his concern for perspective transformation; the Swedish phenomenographers; and the notion of andragogy, which has some regard to the way adults construe their experience within an "independent" self concept.

The Radical Humanist paradigm encompasses theorists who want to upset extant power relationships but are anchored within a subjectivist ontology. Those in this paradigm are usually anti (or "post") positivist, nominalist and voluntarist. But, unlike the interpretivists, the radical humanists want to overthrow or transcend existing social arrangements. Many radical humanists employ concepts developed by the young Marx to describe how people carry ideological superstructures which limit cognition and create a "false consciousness" which inhibits self actualization or fullfillment. Radical humanists want to release people from constraints - which largely reside in their own cognitions. It thus seeks transformation, emancipation, and a critical analysis of modes of domination. It wants people to reconstrue their "view" of "reality" and take appropriate action. Thus praxis becomes reflection (or reconstruing) followed by action.

Freire's conscientization and popular education are the clearest exemplars of this paradigm. Participatory research,

popularized by the ICAE, springs from similar ontological and ideological roots. Giroux's analyses of American education and resistance theory are other examples. Most movements that employ education for cultural revitalization, whether amongst Maoris in New Zealand, Indians in Latin America or the Lap people in the Nordic countries, are informed by radical humanism. Feminism constitutes a special problem although its most energetic branch resides here. So does most of what goes on in the Frankfurt school and critical theory. Existentialism belongs here as well as anarchist-utopians like Illich, Rahnema or those in UNESCO preoccupied with human consciousness and the need to deschool society in the name of lifelong education (or "learning to be").

Radical Structuralists share fundamental assumptions that buttress functionalism but are committted to the overthrow of social structures that oppress people and build "false consciousness". If the radical humnanists focus on consciousness and meaning, the radical structuralists focus on structures, modes of domination, deprivation, contradiction, and structural relations within an objective social world. Within this paradigm are those who focus on deep-seated internal contradictions within society while others focus on power relationships. But common to all theories in this paradigm is the notion that each society is characterized by inherent conflicts and, within these, lie the basis of change. The "later" Marx was the chief architect of this position.

AIDS Education in Context

The urgency associated with AIDS has created a situation where politicians must be seen to "do something". But do what and to whom ? The four paradigms alert educators to important issues.

Advertisers get a gleam in their eye when there is talk of an "AIDS campaign" and one founded in functionalism would be better than silence in places like B.C. where a religious fundamentalist Premier has suppressed AIDS education materials. But, interpretivists point out that materials developed for one context may not be appropriate for another. For example, myths surrounding genitalia vary from culture to culture; virginity means one thing in Thailand and something different in Hong Kong. Horrendous misunderstanding arises from differential interpretations of terms like rear entry, oral sex, penile penetration or sexual orientation. Prevention messages have to come across clearly and consistently and little is gained from euphemisms about exchanging body fluids. HIV infection primarily occurs through sexual behaviour and education about its prevention must involve discussion of explicit sex. Herein lies the most formidable challenge for the

educator.

Educators must find socio-linguistic meanings or cultural codes used by participants. Gender is important and AIDS educators must contend with the demands of corrupt officials. Each of the countries at the Ottawa workshop reported these constraints although their particularities vary from place to place. But it is clear that AIDS educators must tread carefully in socio-political minefields and AIDS education is not a neutral or technical matter; it usually threatens someone. It is also clear that an overly bio-medical approach, not grounded in the social ecology of the target group, will not suffice. Hence certain branches of adult education theory are particularly appropriate.

Most current HIV education campaigns assume the pandemic can only be stopped by modifying individual behaviour. But a focus on individuals makes it easy to "blame the victim" and successful education (and control) greatly depends on the leadership and cooperation of people at risk. "Blaming the victim" also makes too many people think AIDS has nothing to do with them. But the most successful education programs are probably those run by people with AIDS and almost all are cast within the Radical Humanist paradigm. Good examples include Amsterdam where drug addicts ran their own education programs; Baltimore, where a street outreach program was used to show that peer education can help drug users reduce high risk activities. The AIDS (Vancouver Island) publication which introduces "Captain Condom" and "Sex and Drugs in the Red Zone" is also exemplary.

When politicians ask questions about AIDS education they usually have a medical model in mind. But medical models are not congruent with at least three of the four paradigms envisaged here and particularly inappropriate for AIDS education. It usually denotes testing an objective "treatment" in a sanitized or controlled environment. But education does not occur in a vacuum and cannot be conducted in vitro. The best AIDS education must have regard to the way in which it fits socio-cultural frames of reference of participants and patterns of power in various communities and families.

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PASSION, PURITY AND PILLAGE: CRITICAL THINKING ABOUT CRITICAL THINKING

Stephen Brookfield *

The educational success of an idea (that is to say, the extent of its adoption by researchers, theorists and practitioners) frequently depends on its chameleon like character. The greater the conceptual malleability of an idea, the more chance it stands as being claimed by ideologically diverse groups as their intellectual standard bearer. Both self-directed learning and andragogy illustrate this process well in that both possess sufficient flexibility for them to be advanced by conservatives, liberals and radicals as encapsulating their ideological raison d'etre. Now we must add critical thinking, a concept which is chameleonesque in the extreme. It has been lauded as the savior of the U.S. economy and praised as the destroyer of capitalist hegemony. It has been interpreted as both the galvanizer of collective action and the key to intellectual self-sufficiency. Rather like cultural literacy, which has been defined as the didactic transmission of culturally approved content (Hirsch, 1986) or the process by which we become aware of dominant ideologies (Bowers, 1974) critical thinking has as many definitions as definers. Both as a learning process and as a philosophical ideal it has been proposed as the best chance for adult education to define itself as a distinct domain of research, theory and practice. Yet proponents of critical thinking are very far from agreement on its central features. In fact, the discussion of critical thinking has been fired with passion, encouraged the pursuit of purity and given rise to accusations of pillage. As someone who has recently written on the importance of critical thinking to adult education (Brookfield, 1987) I am particularly aware of how passion, purity and pillage infuse discussion of this concept.

Passion, Purity and Pillage

Passion is heatedly aroused in the consideration of connections between critical thinking and political commitment. To some, critical thinking inevitably leads to a commitment to, or action upon, progressive social change. To others, critical thinking serves as a hedge against a naive, wholesale acceptance of any ideology or program. And then there are those who argue that prejudging the ideological outcome of a critical thinking episode contradicts an essential condition of the process. Reactions to my own work illustrate well the passions aroused on this issue and also provide some examples of the chameleon character of this concept. For example, Mckenzie (1988) regards my Developing Critical Thinkers as polemical and intemperate in its exploration of the connections between critical thinking and left of center political viewpoints. Haffenden (1988) goes further, stating that the book is a neo-Marxist work which does not acknowledge these intellectual origins. Yet precisely the opposite criticism is made by Griffin (1988) who argues that the book is actually

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a re-statement of classic liberalism which neglects proper consideration of the political context of critical thinking. A similar point is made by Tennant (1988) and by Finger (1989), who see my work respectively as skirting ideological commitment and springing from an individualistic tradition. The fact that the same elaboration of ideas can be taken by some to be lamentably ideological and by others to be disappointingly apolitical, illustrates nicely the truth that interpretation is all. It also shows just how chameleonesque the concept of critical thinking can be.

Purity, or rather its pursuit, infuses one particular strand of analysis of critical thinking. Amongst left of center proponents of critical thinking, critical literacy and critical pedagogy (teaching critical thinking) a kind of 'holier than thou' pursuit of ideological purity sometimes develops. The body of work produced by theorists such as Giroux, Aronowitz, Apple, Willis, Sharp and others is distinguished by a healthy spirit of critical analysis. No-one's ideas are regarded as sacred and there is a relentless scrutiny of each others' works for their unrecognized ideological biases. In the pursuit of ideological purity - of an analysis purged of the hegemonic constraints of bourgeois liberalism - these writers run the risk of marginalizing themselves from the mainstream of educational practice. In particular, their development of a specialized terminology free from the taint of bourgeois liberalism serves to isolate them from many of the very practitioners they seek to influence. Drawing on the theoretical traditions of Marx, Gramsci and Freire, these writers communicate (or fail to) with a jargon and terminology which excludes almost anyone who is not already familiar with, and supportive of, these traditions. We read of counter-hegemonic, transformative praxis, of dialectically emancipatory pedagogy, of dialogical empowerment, of conscientization, of problematizing dominant ideologies. The heat generated in debating these concepts threatens to elevate their advocates into a rarified intellectual stratosphere, high above the muddy reality of practice. Shor and Freire (1987) recognize this tendency when they declare that "the challenge to liberating educators is to transform the abstract speech we inherit from our training in the bourgeois academy .... to reinvent our idiom while still being rigorous and critical" (p. 181).

Pillage is condemned by guardians of intellectual traditions such as critical social theory, psychoanalysis and analytic philosophy who believe that proponents of critical thinking have raided these traditions, absconded with ideas central to them and then proceeded to distort and decontextualize them in their own analyses. For example, Developing Critical Thinkers has been criticized for not being grounded firmly enough in psychoanalysis (O'Reilly, 1989) and for only touching on the body of philosophical thought by which it should be informed (Mckenzie, 1988). Similarly, Inkster (1987) has commented on the need for me to take greater account of the critical social theory tradition, a point supported by Griffin (1988). To those who regard themselves as schooled in Freudian psychoanalysis, analytic philosophy or the Frankfurt school of critical social theory, elaborations of critical thinking can seem appallingly ill-informed if they do not pay sufficient attention to the intellectual debt they owe to these traditions. Because I draw on all of these traditions my work has been seen by some as intellectual dilettantism. This criticism may be well founded, but I think a case can be made for ensuring that the elaboration

of critical thinking as a central purpose for adult education should not be confined to only one intellectual tradition. Placing such constraints on the advocacy of critical thinking may be conceptually neat but it does not begin to fit the inchoate messiness of adult education reality.

Analysis

Three central questions arise from my analysis of the debate surrounding critical thinking, each one of which is connected, in turn, to the passion, purity and pillage already noted. Firstly, does critical thinking always lead to the adoption of a certain ideological outlook; and, connected to this, is critical thinking irrevocably political ? Secondly, how can we develop a language to describe critical thinking which connects to the daily reality of adult education practice? A language which neither oversimplifies complex concerns, nor renders them unintelligible. A language which is accessible but not patronising. And, thirdly, must critical thinking always be grounded in one recognizable intellectual orientation ? Let me say something about each of these in turn.

With regard to the first question I believe that prejudging the ideological outcome of a critical thinking process contradicts an essential condition of that process; that is, that those engaged in it are always open to the possibility of their own error. To decree that critical thinking always leads to a predefined political commitment is the pedagogic equivalent of papal infallibility. If I enter a political discussion with a totally unshakable belief in the inherent correctness of my views, and a desire to convert my opponents from the unequivocally misguided opinions they hold, or if I refuse to admit the remotest possibility that some of my own assumptions might be inaccurate, then I am guilty of two errors fatal to critical thinking processes. Firstly, I deny a fundamentally necessary respect for the other person who will quickly realize the self-protective nature of my own intellectual position. Secondly, I assume a final, unchallengable omniscience, which might be reassuring and inspiring to some, but which will be repellent to others. This is not to say that I do not have my own ideological convictions and political commitments. I have written and spoken publicly of my political opinions, particularly in the context of the 1984 and 1988 Presidential elections. And, as I acknowledged in the epilog to Developing Critical Thinkers my own critical thinking leads me to speak approvingly of left of center ideas and policies and disapprovingly of right of center perspectives and actions. But as I affirm my belief in the correctness of my own ideas and as I seek to convince others of the importance of these ideas I must, concurrently and with genuine good grace, admit to the possibility that other ideas might be more valid and accurate than my own. I must make explicit the reasons why I hold the views I do. I must lay out, as clearly as I can, the assumptions underlying these views and I must not hedge about admitting that some of these are acts of faith. Owning up to one's biases is avoided only by those with highly fragile egos or a streak of undiluted intellectual arrogance (the two often go together). But let me emphasize that being open to the possibility of error is not a sign of weakness, but of strength. As a teacher it shows that one is also a continuing learner. There is an interpretation of critical thinking which equates admitting to the possibility of error with a kind of relativistic freeze, as if critical thinking is a weak-kneed equivocation,

an inability ever to make firm intellectual, personal or political commitments. This interpretation is based on an erroneous dualism which maintains that one must be wholly unequivocal and closed to the prospect of change, or hopelessly awash in a raging tempest of relativistic ambiguity. In reality, there is no contradiction between a wholehearted commitment to people, structures or beliefs, and an acknowledgment that at some future point experience might lead us to amend, or abandon, these commitments. Refusing to admit that one's own convictions or commitments might be founded on erroneous assumptions is a massive act of denial. It denies the untidy contextuality of the world and it denies the insecure fragility of the denier's ego.

Connected to the question of whether critical thinking leads inevitably to the adoption of a pre-defined ideological stance is that of the irrevocably political nature of such thinking. Is critical thinking, by definition, political ? I believe that it is but that it is not confined to the political arena formally defined. Critical thinking and teaching critical thinking is always political but it occurs within the spheres of intimate relatioships and workplace patterns as well as within the spheres of human rights, democratic accountability and equitable economic arrangements. A political activity is one which focuses on the posing and answering of awkward questions. It is one in which people challenge the accuracy and legitimacy of issues defined as important, and in which they sometimes substitute their own definitions of these. It is one in which people ask whose interests are served by the maintenance of certain assumptions, practices or structures. All these activities are central to critical thinking processes and they occur in intimate relationships, in recreational spheres and in workplace interactions as well as in collective social action. On this point, it is interesting to note just how compartmentalized critical thinking can become. It is quite possible for people to spend enormous amounts of time unearthing the assumptions underlying each other's actions in an intimate relationship, yet to regard political processes as something unconnected to them. Conversely, it is quite possible for highly sophisticated political analysts to give no attention to the way in which their own actions towards their intimates reproduce uncritically dominant cultural values. Simply because someone does not appear to hold the ideologically correct critical opinions does not mean that they have not scrutinized critically the assumptions informing their thoughts and actions in other spheres.

The second question to be addressed, that connected to the discussion of purity, concerns the ways in which an accessible, but non-patronizing, language can be developed to describe critical thinking processes and to teach critical thinking. I see no easy answer to this, but I am convinced that addressing this question is crucial. The point of education, surely, is to connect with people. If teachers do not connect in terms which make sense to learners - not the same as talking down to them - then their efforts are, literally and figuratively, meaningless. It is ironic that educators who emphasize so much the need to adjust curricula and methods so that learners can analyze their own experience in their own terms (rather than pursuing artificially defined curricula imposed by some centralized authority) should sometimes use language to describe this activity which is so exclusionary to those same learners. The specialized terminology in which educators speak to each other is intimidating and alienating to the learners who are the focus of these efforts. I tried

to write Developing Critical Thinkers in an accessible way, and am impressed with Shor and Freire's A Pedagogy for Liberation. Daloz (1986, 1988) has produced some beautifully fluid and personalized vignettes of how critical thinking processes work themselves out in particular people and contexts. But much more work needs to be done in this area.

And, finally, to the question of pillage. As I understand critical thinking it is a process by which people become aware of the assumptions underlying their habitual actions, ideas and judgments and by which they examine these assumptions for their accuracy and validity. This process is observable across the contexts of adulthood and manifests itself differently according to a host of contextual variables. It is a process often characterized by transitional fluctuation in that people are both attracted and repelled simultaneously by the prospect of change endemic to many critical thinking episodes. To confine such a complex phenomenon within the analytical parameters of a single intellectual discipline seems to me to be a grave error. Particularly, claiming that critical thinking must be firmly and exclusively locked within a single intellectual tradition renders it irrelevant to the majority of those outside that tradition. To argue that an understanding of critical thinking can only arise if one has first immersed oneself in the works of Althusser, Habermas or Marcuse, or if one is thoroughly grounded in Freudian or Jungian psychoanalysis, means that the concept is dismissed by many as being far removed from the realities of practice. Adopting this attitude does not galvanize the energies of adult educators towards the encouragement of critically alert casts of mind in learners; rather, it induces in those same practitioners a perception that developing critical thinking is the object of a rarified intellectual debate conducted by specialists in psychoanalytic, philosophical or socio-political disciplines. One of the strengths of adult education as a field of research and practice is its very eclecticism. Adult educators bring a variety of intellectual and practical perspectives to bear on their work and have the great advantage, in my view, of not needing to ground their efforts solely within one tradition or discipline. Our field is not beset with problems of artificially delineated turf; essentially, we trample joyfully over all intellectual terrains, as long as they help us facilitate learning. There are no discipline-based gatekeepers to whom we must constantly turn for legitimization. So bringing a variety of theoretical perspectives to bear on critical thinking, but refusing to pledge complete intellectual allegiance to any one of these, is not intellectual dilettantism. It is an example of the adult educator's admirable determination to connect with learners using any means possible, whether or not this sins against any particular theoretical gospel. Our primary duty as educators, our Hippocratic Oath of practice, must be to connect with learners in terms which mean something to them. To restrict our understanding of critical thinking, or its facilitation, to one artificially designated analytical perspective, makes it impossible for us to fulfill this oath. As Daloz (1988) points out in his analysis of tribalism, a central task of adult education must be to help people move beyond tribal Gods. Moving beyond tribal thinking carries with it the risks of psychological alienation and social exclusion. He writes "encouraging students to move beyond their tribal boundaries ... is a political act" (p. 241). So I know that moving the study and practice

of critical thinking beyond tribal academic boundaries is to risk marginality. But it is also to place this activity at the center of adults' pressing public concerns and private dilemmas. The crises and contradictions of adulthood - what represent teachable moments for so many of our learners - are not neat conceptual grist for the exclusive mills of Freudian analysis, logical positivism or Marxism. Their innate messiness cannot be cleaned up by the application of one, or even all, of these perspectives. To presume that one of them can account for all processes and contexts of critical thinking is to deny its inchoate complexity. So what might initially be tasted as a heady draught of explanatory insight from the Holy Grail of a single intellectual tradition will soon become the sour wine supped from a poisoned chalice.

Conclusion

The traditions I have analyzed in this paper - especially the Frankfurt School of critical social theory - I find the most stimulating and accurate of all traditions in the illumination of critical thinking. But there has crept into some of the work developed from this tradition a rhetorical strain which oversimplifies the complex reality it claims to portray. There is also a hermetic, recondite quality to this work which is highly exclusionary. As someone whose own teaching efforts are directed toward making practising adult educators more critically reflective I know that if I insist at the outset that their understanding of critical thinking be placed squarely within a neo-Marxist or neo-Freudian tradition, then I will lose many of those not already sympathetic to these approaches. Again, if I use the highly abstract language of analytic philosophy to describe critical thinking I will serve only to confirm to many of them that critical thinking is a process which can be experienced only by those who have a deep familiarity with a body of philosophical theory. So what some regard as my intellectual dilettantism in understanding and teaching critical thinking - my readiness to draw from a number of traditions but to be confined by none - is actually a matter of tactics and strategy. Having introduced critical thinking to learners from within the framework of critical social theory I have realized that this can be a major tactical error. Essentially it is an act of pedagogic self-indulgence which enhances my feeling of intellectual superiority and ideological integrity, but which is actually counter-productive to the development of critical thinking among the many learners ignorant of, or prejudiced against, this tradition. A much greater degree of attention needs to be paid to developing a tactical shrewdness which ensures that learners are not predisposed against critical thinking from the outset by the educator's insistence that it be understood from within the confines of a particular ideological framework. So while I am open about my ideological biases I do not force these on learners. I try not to give the impression that learners will gain my approval by toeing the party line and feeding back my biases to me. As Freire points out, a crucial aspect of critical practice is the teacher's public readiness to place his or her biases for learners' scrutiny. The ideological outcome of a critical dialogue must always be open, and educators must always be open to the possibility that engaging in this dialogue may cause them to alter some of their most strongly held, fundamental assumptions. Critical teachers must be seen to be critical learners.

MAKING TROUBLE IN CORPORATE AMERICA: CRITICAL REFLECTION WITHIN A FORTUNE 100 COMPANY

Annie Brooks

Abstract: The role of critically reflective employees in a corporate culture change is explored in this qualitative case study. Findings include ways the organization encourages or impedes critical reflection in employees, and the nature of critical reflection within the corporate environment. A model of organizational learning based on study findings is presented.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Responding to technological advances and the shift to a global economy has required radical changes not only in organizational structures and cultures but also in individual employees. This study addresses the problem, identified in both the literature and by manager-practitioners, that many employees do not change their behavior or attitudes even though they apparently understand and subscribe to the new values endorsed by the company.

THE RESEARCH

Conceptual framework

Three terms require definition as a basis for this study: critical reflection, organization and culture. Critical reflection is defined as recognizing the assumptions underlying our beliefs and behaviors, and judging their appropriacy to objective "reality" (Brookfield, S. 1987, p. 13-14). Organizaation is defined from a cultural perspective as networks of subjective meanings or frames of reference that organization members share to varying degrees (Smircich, 1983). Finally, culture is defined as a pattern of basic assumptions which have been invented, discovered or developed by a group in order to cope with its problems of external adaptation and internal integration (Schein, 1987). Central to all three definitions is the notion of a conceptual framework or pattern of basic assumptions functioning as the organizer for thought and behavior.

The assumption underlying this study is that critical reflection by employees, in some way, contributes to the development or maintenance of an organization that responds appropriately to changes in its internal or external environment. The purpose of the study is to illuminate the relationship between employees who reflect critically and their company, and the nature of critical reflection within a corporate context.

Paradigm and methodology

The research was conducted within an interpretive paradigm. Concern was with interpreting the meaning the participants attributed to their own behavior. Qualitative case study methodology was essential for achieving an in-depth understanding of critical reflection within a corporate context.

Research design

Research site and participants. The focus of the study was a Fortune 100 service company. Government-mandated deregulation of the industry, motivated the company to try to change itself from a rigid bureaucratic style of management and structure to a flatter, more entrepreneurial one. Newly espoused values emphasized respect for employees as individuals and valuable resources, an obligation to shareholders, a focus on the customer, quality in service and products, pluralism, innovation, participation, fairness and

integrity. The chairman was viewed by employees and press alike as embodying these new values. He described himself as valuing diversity in people and opinions, contention as part of the management process, and troublemakers - who he described as "...the ones I think have the greatest potential."

The sample consisted of 29 participants: 19 upper level managers including the chairman of the board, 5 mid-level, and 5 lower-level. For the purpose of this study, each was designated by two key informants as being critically reflective (CR+), not critically reflective (CR-) or recently transformed into critically reflective (CRt). The key informants were selected because they had a grasp of the concept of critical reflection and they produced examples of their own critical reflection. The following layman's definition of critically reflective employees was used: people who can recognize and act when their own or the company's behavior is inappropriate to the internal or external environment. To further validate the sample, examples of critical reflection and resulting action were solicited from the participants. Eighteen of the 21 CR+, 1 of the 4 CR-, and 3 of the 4 CRt participants produced examples.

Research techniques. Semi-structured interviews provided the primary source of data. Interviews lasted approximately one hour and were conducted in the participants' offices during business hours. All interviews were tape recorded and transcribed. Documents provided an additional source of data regarding the organization's self-image and goals.

Research procedure

Preliminary interviews were conducted with 4 participants. Analysis of transcripts and collected documents yielded a list of emerging themes, a formal interview schedule and a layman's definition of critical reflection. A second round of interviews was conducted with 4 more participants. Analysis of all 8 interview transcripts and the documents yielded a revised interview schedule. A final round of interviews was conducted with 21 more participants. A final analysis of all transcripts and document data yielded the findings reported here.

Validity and reliability.. Four steps were taken to assure the reliability and validity of the analysis. First, copies of four of the transcripts with the coding key were given to another educator to code. Her coding was compared with my own to assess its accuracy. Second, groups of quotations I had related conceptually were given to another educator to generate the concept he believed linked each group. Third, four study participants reviewed my findings to verify that they were in accord with their perception of the organization and its employees. Finally, I asked myself regarding each concept I identified, whether it was truly the story the participants wanted to tell, or a reflection of my own conceptual perspective. Informed by this feedback, I reviewed and often revised my analysis.

DESCRIPTION OF THE DATA

Critical reflection within the corporate environment. CR+ employees reported reflecting critically on five aspects of corporate life: cultural norms underlying current behavior and attitudes, strategies and theories implied by a pattern of behavior, the way a problem had been framed, ethical behavior and the organization's response to stakeholders and demographic trends.

Several ways in which critical reflection was encouraged within the organization were described by CR+ participants. They included provision of a variety of work experiences, liberal education and education aimed at personal development, open-ended assignments, managers or peers who model critically reflective behavior, encouragement to question, feedback on individual performance, and the opportunity to participate in both policy-making and implementation.

Participants described themselves as acting to change the organization only when motivation sufficiently outweighed risk. Strategies reported as effective for facilitating change in the organization included proving you are right, championing a cause, putting your idea or opinion in writing, utilizing a group, and being cognizant of political realities.

Positive changes resulting from critical reflection included improved public relations, greater satisfaction for customers and employees, improved relations with governmental agents, advantages over competitors, savings of large sums of money and the successful launching of a profitable subsidiary. Most of the positive changes were in response to current problems. Changes perceived as inappropriate or ill-considered were in response to a predicted future and were imposed from above without input from the parts of the company where they were to be implemented.

The critically reflective employee. Two kinds of mental strategies were reported as being used in identifying inappropriate personal or corporate behavior or attitudes and underlying assumptions: strategies which do not strive for conscious control and those which do. Strategies which do not included taking the other person or group's perspective, and listening to intuition. Those which do included perspective-taking, monitoring thought processes, gathering information and using analytic processes.

The ability to reflect critically was attributed by participants to either growing up in a family where questioning was encouraged or transformational experiences. Transformations were triggered by intercultural experiences, serious personal illness, divorce, and failure at work. The essential quality of these transformations was a disruption in self-image and a subsequent realignment of that image with a reality. Insights participants described themselves as having gained through transformative experiences included: "I am the originator of my own destiny"; survival requires an affirmation of living; openness results in more successful relationships; "I must have the courage of my convictions" and there are more realities than one.

CR+ and CR- participants described themselves differently. CR+ participants described themselves as empathetic to others, not being identified with or dependent on their job or company, desirous that values and actions be consistent, and having broad interests. CR- participants described themselves as flexible, smart, possessing a good attitude, capable, self-confident, appreciative of a challenge, able to deal with discontinuity, unflappable, loyal to the company, protective of the company, and committed to carrying out corporate policy.

CONCLUSIONS

Findings compared with the literature on critical reflection

Two assumptions identified as present in the literature on critically

reflective learning can be evaluated in terms of the findings.

(1) The most effective strategy for reflecting critically is critical analysis. Although critical analysis, which strives for accuracy, logic and control, was the most universally utilized thought strategy during critical reflection, participants indicated that they also used other strategies. Women in particular reported taking another person or group's perspective and utilizing intuition.

(2) Critical reflection leads to some sort of social or political action. Whether or not people act on an insight gained through critical reflection depends on their perception of the balance between motivation and risk, according to the study participants. Individuals do not act when they believe the risk is too great, either because the action is politically stupid or the stakes are too high. Individuals do act when there is sufficient motivation, such as ethical convictions, or the survival or improvement of self, family, gender or race. The well-being of the organization was not considered sufficient motivation to take action in the face of personal risk.

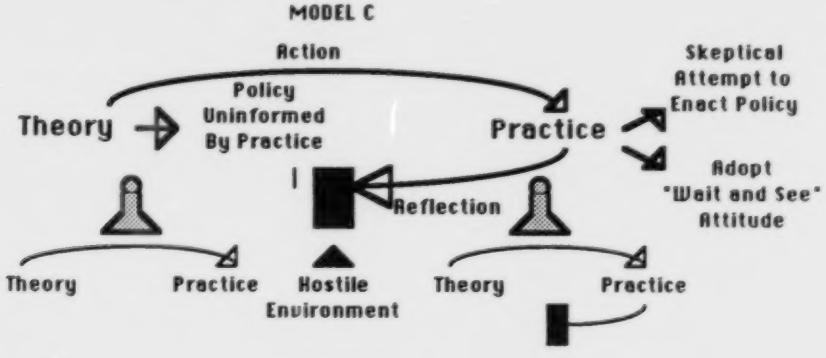
This finding is significant on three counts. First, it indicates that a hostile environment impedes critically reflective learning. The recognition of assumptions is not sufficient to cause an individual to undertake action in a social or political context. Second, it points to the fact that the literature on critically reflective learning does not take into consideration the factor of risk faced by critically reflective individuals and thus fails to examine the linkages between thinking and action. Finally, it implies that critically reflective learning must be considered within a social and political context. Learning within this domain cannot be considered solely a psychological process, and any theory or practice focusing in this domain must account for the interaction between the individual and the social context.

Toward a theory of organizational learning. This model rests on the theory and research accumulated in adult learning and organizational change over the last twenty years. The model is grounded in the unanticipated finding in this study that a breakdown in the interaction between policy-setting and strategy development, and implementation results in inappropriate objectives being forced down through the organization.

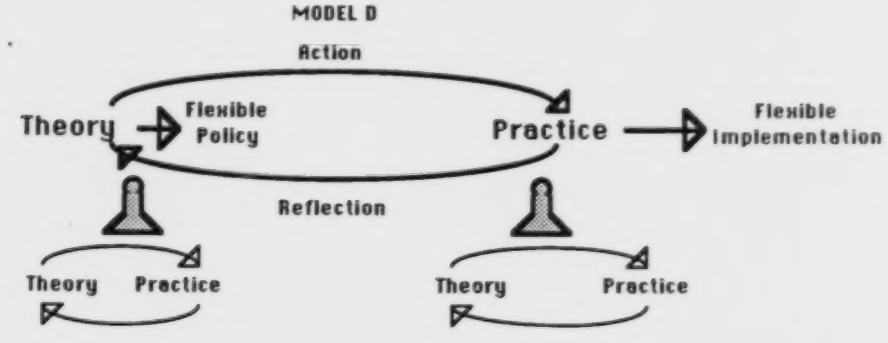
In critically reflective learning at the organizational level, reflection on implementation informs policy and strategy, and policy and strategy inform implementation (Model A). In non-critically reflective learning, policy and strategy inform implementation (Model B).

The findings suggest that certain assumptions spawn patterns of belief, attitude, interaction and behavior that are hostile to critical reflection focusing on the organization. These patterns impede employees' access to both

policy and strategy, and implementation thus hampering their ability to act as agents of organizational learning. When this occurs, an organization can be termed learning dysfunctional because of a breakdown in the reflection-action cycle. Employees are impeded from reflecting on behalf of the organization, resulting in an organization that lacks an accurate grasp of internal and external realities, and responds to them inappropriately (Model C).



When reflection on implementation informs policy and strategy, the organization functions as a critically reflective learning system. It increases its effectiveness because it grasps internal and external realities more accurately and alters its responses accordingly (Model D).



This model of critically reflective learning at the organizational level is very similar to individual critically reflective learning as conceptualized by both Freire (1974) and Argyris and Schon (1985). However, this model differs from Freire's in that conflict over control of the culture is not an issue. It differs from Argyris and Schon's in that individual recognition of underlying assumptions and consequent alteration of behavior within the organization is not the basis for organizational culture change. This model of organizational learning extends the metaphor of organizational learning beyond the consensus that the corporate culture must be conducive to learning (Fiol and Lyles, 1985), to a conceptualization of the actual learning process. It supports Beer (1988) in challenging the traditional wisdom on corporate transformation that change must start at the top and filter down through the organization.

Reconsideration of researcher is assumption. This study suggests that while critical reflection by employees may contribute to the development or maintenance of an organization that responds appropriately to changes in its internal or external environment, it is not sufficient. For an organization to be contextually responsive, one of two conditions must exist. Either individual employees must have the motivation to act on their critically reflective insights in the face of risk, or the organizational culture and structure must allow for employees to be in some way involved in both strategy and planning, and implementation.

Relevance to the field. The phenomenon of critically reflective learning and the relationship of individual learning to social change have emerged as the most controversial topics currently debated in the field of adult education. At the same time, the increasing demand on our workforce to be flexible and capable of continuous learning have caused adult educators to search for new paradigms of learning in the workplace (Marsick, 1987). In spite of this interest little research has been done to ground our building of theory. This research contributes to a foundation on which we can build our understanding of the kind of workplace learning needed to meet the challenge of change.

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PERCEIVED OCCUPATIONAL NEEDS AND JOB FULFILLMENT IN CONTINUING HIGHER EDUCATION: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS BY LEVEL OF EMPLOYMENT

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ABSTRACT: In continuing higher education, as in any work setting, employees are a most important asset to their organization. Their perceptions of job satisfaction can influence overall success. This study investigated 23 occupational needs and perceptions of their importance and fulfillment as reported by 645 continuing higher education practitioners. Variations of need importance and need fulfillment were found between levels of employment (Dean, Director, Program Administrator, and Faculty) and other individual variables such as salary level and sex. Few variations were noted between institutional characteristics. Predictors of total fulfillment were investigated, and job characteristics which members reported would cause them to leave or retain a continuing higher education job were found to vary from Herzberg's listing of job motivators and hygiene factors.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM: The effective continuing higher education leader knows "it is the management of human resources, not physical resources, that determines the level of effectiveness" (Williams, 1980, p. 75). An understanding of theories of job motivation and knowledge of employee job expectations and deficiencies may be helpful tools for all practitioners.

The Person-Environment Fit Theory (P-E Fit Theory) focuses on a dynamic process of interaction where subjective job "fit" can be assessed by the extent to which the job meets the individual's needs and the extent to which the employee brings skills and abilities to the demands of the job (Harrison, 1985). While one of many emphases of the National University Continuing Education Association (NUCEA) Continuing Higher Education Leadership Project (CHEL) has been to identify job proficiencies and develop general job descriptions, employee perceptions of job need importance and fulfillment have not been researched.

It was the purpose of this study to provide information concerning occupational need importance and fulfillment in the continuing higher education workplace. The study sought to describe job need importance and fulfillment by employment level, then examine patterns of variation between groups by other individual and institutional variables.

Additionally, the study investigated predictors of job fulfillment and compared maintenance and hygiene factors identified by the respondents to those reported by Herzberg (Herzberg, 1956; Herzberg, 1988).

METHODOLOGY

Research Method: An ex post facto design was employed, since the 23 occupational needs measured, the workplace characteristics, and the individual characteristics could not be experimentally manipulated. The design allowed for detailed statistical investigation of five research questions. Analyses included parametric and nonparamentric analyses of variance, correlation, multiple regression, and content analysis of open-ended questions.

Data Source. The sample for the study was the 1988 U.S. membership of the NUCEA. The data were collected in May and June of 1989 via a carefully designed survey which included the Occupational Needs Questionnaire, a valid and reliable instrument which measures job satisfaction and deficiency levels in 23 identified job needs. The response rate was 38.5% of the mailing or 645 useable surveys. The employment level responses included 122 Vice Presidents, Provosts and Deans, 252 Directors, 207 Program Coordinators, and 57 Faculty/other titles.

DESCRIPTION OF THE DATA:

Need Importance Findings. The first research question inquired, "Are there differences in occupational need importance (of each of the 23 job needs) by individual variables (employment level, sex, employment stage, age, education, race, or salary level) or institutional variables (type of institution, size of institution, CHE budget, CHE organization, service area, region, or member category)?"

In this study, sex was found to influence perceptions of need importance. Females in NUCEA who responded to the survey ranked the following 8 of 23 needs significantly ($p \leq .05$) higher in importance than their male colleagues: to be engaged in work that is enjoyable, to have a manageable work load, to feel a sense of excitement in my work, to get training to develop new work skills, to have a supervisor I can respect, to experience personal growth through my work, to have opportunities to be creative on the job, to be treated fairly by my employer. One need ranked significantly higher by males was, "To feel I have achieved importance in life through my work".

Additionally, six significant variations of need importance by employment level were found, with five of six needs rated more important by program coordinators than by higher level administrators (primarily deans),

directors, or faculty. Coordinators ranked higher in importance the needs to have enough time to do the work required, to have clearly defined organizational policies, to have a manageable work load, to get training to develop new work skills, to be treated fairly by my employer. Deans and directors rated the need "to feel a sense of adventure in my work" significantly higher than faculty.

One occupational need seemed to discriminate between levels of several demographic variables. The need "to get training to develop new work skills" was found to vary significantly by employment level, responsibility, age, the number of people supervised, educational degree, sex, salary level, and employment stage. The highest rankings were found, respectively, in the categories of coordinator level, marketing area employees, employees who were 21-42 years old, employees with 2-5 years on the job, employees who did not supervise anyone, and those with an associate or master's degree.

Institutional variables had very few patterns of signficant variations of need importance by groups. The need "to feel a sense of excitement in my work" was rated higher by employees of two and four-year colleges, employees from smaller-sized academic institutions, employees in centralized CCE units, and institutional representatives of NUCEA.

Need Fulfillment Findings. The second research question asked if there were differences in occupational need fulfillment scores (of each of the 23 needs and the total score) by individual variables and institutional variables. (The variables are listed in the section above.)

The overall fulfillment score and individual fulfillment perceptions of 21 of 23 specific needs varied by category of salary. In each instance of significant variation between groups, the highest fulfillment scores were reported by the highest paid group ($50,000 to $93,000), and the greatest frustrations were reported by those in the lowest salary level ($34,999 or below). All salary levels had similar mean scores on two needs: "to have freedom in what I do" and "to have a supervisor I can respect". Salary was found to be significantly correlated with employment level, sex, employment stage, and highest degree, so variations of fulfillment on 13 of 23 needs by employment level was not a surprise.

Program coordinators led the other employment groups with significantly higher frustration levels for 10 of 13 needs: to be free from boring tasks, to be engaged in work that is enjoyable, to earn a comfortable living, to feel a sense of adventure in my work, to have a manageable work load, to feel a sense of excitement in my work, to get training to develop new work skills, to feel I have achieved importance in life through my work, to be part of an organization of which I can feel proud, and to experience personal growth

through my work. Faculty had the highest frustration with the needs to experience friendship among coworkers, to be creative on the job, and to have responsibility for carrying out important activities. Deans led the other groups in fulfillment levels of 21 of 23 needs, and had the highest overall job fulfillment. Directors were most fulfilled of all the groups on the need "to experience friendship among my coworkers".

The variables primary responsibility, employment stage, number of people supervised, sex, race, and educational degree, revealed signficant differences in total ON-Q score between groups within each variable. Continuing education personnel in NUCEA who are involved in work which involves noncredit, grants and contract training were less satisfied than those with primary responsibilities in administration. Employees who had served 2 to 5 years in their job were less satisfied than those in the groups reporting 11 or more years of service. Employees who did not have supervisory responsibilities were less satisfied than those who supervised 6-10 people, and those who supervised 16 or more people. Females were less fulfilled in their job than were males. Non-whites were less fulfilled than whites. Employees who reported an associate or bachelor's as their highest degree were less satisfied with their job needs being met than those with master's degrees and those with doctorates. Those who aspired to private business positions were less fulfilled than those who aspired to be college and university presidents.

There was a general lack of significant variation between groups for need fulfillment scores by categories of institutional variables. The total ON-Q scores did not vary by categories of institutional type, size of institution, centralized or decentralized continuing education units, service region, size of continuing education budget, NUCEA region, or NUCEA group responding.

Predictors of Fulfillment. The third research question asked, "What interval level or dichotomous variables are predictors of total occupational need fulfillment- Do predictors vary by level of employment?"

Self-reported job satisfaction was found to be the greatest predictor of total occupational need fulfillment, accounting for more than 50% of the variance in fulfillment. Self-reported global burnout percentage accounted for less than 24% of the variance in fulfillment. Among demographic variables, salary and sex were statistically significant predictors, but the contribution to variance in fulfillment was negligible for each. When employment level was controlled, other demographic variables did not predict need fulfillment. When the self-reported satisfaction and burnout scores were withheld from the regression variable list, no predictors were found for fulfillment at the coordinator level.

The Instrument. The fourth research question asked, "What are the relationships between total occupational need fulfillment score and the global satisfaction and global burnout scores?

The total fulfillment score was most highly correlated with satisfaction (-.75) and was also significantly correlated with burnout (.43). This information, along with the variable beta weights from the regression results help substantiate the validity of the ON-Q instrument as a measure of job satisfaction.

Work Motivators and Dissatisfiers. The fifth research question asked, "Are the reported job characteristics which subjects indicate would cause them to leave their job (hygiene characteristics, or dissatisfiers) and those that subjects report to help with continuing a job (motivators or satisfiers) consistent with the Herzberg hygiene and motivator factors?"

The top three motivating factors reported by respondents of this study were the work itself (most often included were freedom in the CCE job, autonomy, creativity, and the joy of helping others), salary, and achievement. The top three dissatisfiers were company policy and administration, relation with supervisor, and the work itself. The findings were not consistent with the Herzberg list of motivation and hygiene factors.

CONCLUSIONS: The following points are conclusions of this study: 1) The results of this study should be generalized with care to the continuing higher education population. 2) Within NUCEA, other variables, specifically salary, and perhaps sex influenced employment level results. 3) Program Coordinators were less fulfilled than the other groups of employees. 4) Vice Presidents, Provosts, and Deans of Continuing Education were the most fulfilled of the employment level groups. 5) Individual and institutional variables, including employment level, predicted surprisingly little variation in job fulfillment. 6) Self-reported work motivators and dissatisfiers were not consistent with the Herzberg listing of job motivators and hygiene factors. 7) Salary played a critical role in the perception of overall job fulfillment and individual job need fulfillment among NUCEA members.

RESEARCH IMPORTANCE AND IMPLICATIONS: This study contributed specific information concerning occupational need importance and fulfillment by employment level, identified significant variations between variable groups, and listed job satisfiers and dissatisfiers of CHE personnel.

Implications for practice include the identification of employee job frustrations within units to facilitate employer-employee dialogue; responding to higher felt needs by program administrators to receive more

training and have clearly defined organizational policies; increasing communication between all levels; establishing pay raise criteria based upon recognized performance; and increasing salaries for all levels.

Suggestions for further research include qualitative investigation of variations of job need importance and job need fulfillment by sex; further exploration of predictors of job fulfillment, job retention and job turnover; phenomenological investigation of salary and what it means to today's worker; and the tracking of patterns and reasons of job mobility among continuing higher educators. New knowledge and increased sensitivity of occupational needs may affect employee satisfaction, retention, growth, and general productivity in continuing higher education.

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USING NATURALISTIC INQUIRY AND CONTENT ANALYSIS AS A QUALITATIVE APPROACH TO CONDUCT HISTORICAL CASE STUDY RESEARCH

Lorraine A. Cavaliere

ABSTRACT

The research presented in this paper examined the process of independent, self-directed adult learning utilized by the Wright Brothers which led to their invention of the airplane. The paper focuses on the methodological processes involved in conducting a qualitative historical case study using naturalistic inquiry and content analysis as the research approach.

RESEARCHING THE PROCESS OF SELF-DIRECTED LEARNING

On December 17, 1903, the Wright brothers achieved powered, sustained, controlled flight of a heavier-than-air machine for the first time in the history of mankind. At that moment when flight was realized, the future of communications, transportation, education and world affairs began to change significantly. These changes were effected by the independent, self-planned learning project of two adults, whose everyday business was the building and selling of bicycles. The Wright brothers planned, developed and completed one of the most vivid examples of a self-planned, self-directed adult learning project as defined by Tough (1979), who conceptualized this behavior as "a major, highly deliberate effort to gain certain knowledge and skill" (p. 1). What were the behavioral and learning processes employed by the Wright brothers during their self-directed learning project? How did these individuals accomplish one of "the greatest intellectual achievements in technical history" (Ritchie, 1978, p. 66)?

METHODOLOGY

The major objective of this research was to analyze and understand the behavioral and learning processes employed by the Wright brothers during their efforts to invent the airplane (1875-1903). A heuristic research approach was employed as an attempt to illustrate how adults learn on their own without the assistance of formal institutions. The specific research objectives focused on the resources utilized, the patterns of human interaction in a communication system and the contextual forces impacting these behavioral processes.

The unique nature of the problem and the relevant data sources required a combination of methodologies and theoretical bases. Substantively, the research focused on self-planned learning processes within contextual communication and resource networks. Methodologically, content analysis and naturalistic inquiry were

used to discover the patterns of behaviors and utilization of resources, as well as the size, composition and frequency of interactions among the members of the action set which formed during this self-planned learning project. The literature presented strong evidence to support the interfacing of self-directed learning theory (Tough, 1979; Brookfield, 1984b; Spear & Mocker, 1984) and networking theory (Luikart, 1977; Mitchell, 1969; Granovetter, 1973; Rogers & Kincaid, 1981; Crane, 1972; Whitten & Wolfe, 1974) as a research paradigm to investigate the learning strategies employed by the Wrights.

Since the behavior patterns emerged from the data and the hypothesis formulation and theoretical assumptions are grounded in this data, the major methodological approach utilized was naturalistic inquiry. The purpose of naturalistic inquiry, which is based on phenomenological epistemology, is discovery, and differs from scientific inquiry whose purpose is verification. Naturalistic inquiry focuses on the discovery of elements or insights not yet included in existing theories. Guba and Lincoln (1981) and Merriam and Jones (1983) support the use of naturalistic inquiry when investigating the complexities of human behavior.

This historical case study, utilizing a naturalistic inquiry approach (Guba and Lincoln, 1981), employed content analysis techniques to collect and analyze the data. The specific behavioral learning strategies employed by the Wrights were analyzed longitudinally and sequentially to determine the who, what, when, where, why and how of this historical case study of self-planned adult learning. The data was then analyzed qualitatively and quantitatively for behavioral learning patterns utilizing a communication network framework.

This method of content analysis was used to construct an analytical infrastructure in order to investigate the communication patterns of this self-planned learning project. Since the research focused on the behaviors of two individuals engaged in an independent learning project, analysis of their communication network facilitated the conceptualization of their self-directed learning processes. The size, density and composition of the resource network developed by the Wright brothers were the initial variables described by the research. Once the network structure had been determined, the patterns of exchanges and communication flow were analyzed for causes and explanations of behaviors and interactions.

As the data was analyzed, every resource (person, place and/or thing) contacted during the learning process was documented and recorded, utilizing a unitizing scheme consistent with content analysis methodology describing the who, what, when, where, why and how of each contact. These points of contact and their frequency served to construct the "action set" network (Whitten & Wolfe, 1974, p. 724). The historical documents were analyzed again for descriptions and statements of specific behaviors employed during the learning project. These behaviors were charted sequentially and

quantitatively tabulated to determine patterns. This methodological approach allowed for the analysis to focus upon patterns of exchanges and learning behaviors, as well as forces driving information through the network and motivational factors binding individuals within the network.

When the primary methodology is content analysis, the purpose of the research is to estimate phenomena (Krippendorff, 1980). Since no predetermined hypothesis was utilized to determine the framework of the self-planned learning project being researched, the data was approached from the naturalistic inquiry mode (Guba, 1978; Guba & Lincoln, 1981). This research, by applying content analysis and naturalistic inquiry methodologies, attempted to gain new information about and insights into self-planned, self-directed adult learning as defined by Tough (1979) and Brookfield (1984a).

DATA

Since a historical case study was the focus of the research, historical records of the events became the source of the data. The value of this research content lies in the fact that the behavior patterns are fixed in time past and the changes in the formation of the network can be traced longitudinally through a fixed historical framework, thereby eliminating research problems created by the fluidity of the present.

Histories are one form of writing which have been labeled "case studies". The content of a case study is usually determined by its purpose which in this case was to chronicle, "that is, to develop a register of facts or events in the order in which they happened" (Guba & Lincoln, 1981, pp. 371-372). The advantages of electing this method were that the case study provided thick description necessary to the results of naturalistic inquiry; it is grounded in the data; it is holistic and lifelike; it is contextual; it defines parameters of the range of date; it focuses attention and illuminates meaning and it builds on tacit knowledge (Guba & Lincoln, 1981).

The personal papers of the Wright brothers which included diaries, letters, autobiographical accounts as well as biographies, conference/meeting proceedings, newspaper and journal articles, historical accounts, interviews and oral histories served as the universe of the data which could be analyzed. When researches "make an effort to infer events form documents, they are by definition involved in content analysis" (Krippendorff, 1980, p. 24). Since live interaction with the subjects was impossible (they have both died) document analysis was a nonreactive and unobtrusive technique for gathering data (Holsti, 1969; Guba & Lincoln, 1981). Content analysis of these historical documents provided a framework for analyzing human behavior and provided consistency with the approach of communication theorists who analyze communications in terms of "Who says what, to whom, how, and with what effect, and why?" (Holsti, 1969, p. 24).

CONCLUSIONS

The research traced the processes employed in one learning project which was obviously successful. The external measures of success were indications of cognitive and affective revolutions due to the very nature of the success marker: the invention and successful piloting of the first airplane.

The task of content analysis is to make inferences and as such an analytical construct was formulated whereby the data was the independent variable and the target (pattern of self-planned adult learning) was the dependent variable (Krippendorff, 1980). This analytical construct provided the rules for inference. The sequence of events of this self-planned adult learning project was the outcome of the research. Once the network structure had been determined, the pattern of exchanges and communication flow were analyzed for explanations of behaviors and interactions. Through inferential analyses of the findings, a model of learning patterns was constructed to illustrate the type and sequence of learning behaviors employed throughout the project.

The findings indicate that the identified behaviors were repetitive, cyclical and progressive in nature. The data analyses demonstrated that learning is not linear but cyclical and does not occur in isolation. This conceptualization of the self-directed adult learning project being composed of phases of momentum and focus, with the phases comprised of repetitive stages of behaviors presents adult self-directed learning as being cyclical, layered, multifaceted and progressive. The findings of this particular case study indicate clearly that:

1. The learning progressed in a cyclical fashion, waxing and waning during the progress of the project with ever increasing momentum until the final discovery.
2. The learning did not occur in isolation. The contextual forces of the resource networks had direct influence on the progress of the project.
3. The learners needed time and freedom to plan, focus, and concentrate. These needs arose in cyclical stages over an unpredicted longitudinal time period.
4. The learners were successful due to the fact that they continually refined one basic model which served as their theoretical construct throughout their project. This refinement of one basic model led to their ability to experiment and implement successful changes with the model allowing them to successfully accomplish their pre-planned goal to invent the airplane.
5. The long-range outcome goal set by the learners was clearly defined and understood at the beginning of the project. However, the individual activities that comprised the process of the learning project evolved due to feedback received by the learners during the project. The feedback was a critical element in determining subsequent sequential actions implemented by the learners.

The Wright brothers accomplishment changed the world and this is

not to be underestimated. Their feat is a classic example of a self-planned adult learning project, however the learning did not occur without external resources and circumstances lending assistance in their processes of invention and discovery. This connectedness of learning and discovery is illustrated by James Burke (1978), who posits that the history of mankind which innately involves learning, should not be viewed in a linear fashion and that we should not teach students to think in a linear manner. This case study verifies this position.

The interfacing of adult learning theory and communication network theory utilizing naturalistic inquiry provided a rich structural model to explore learning behavior. Many research questions surfaced from the analysis of the ingenious, yet generic behaviors employed by the Wright brothers. How does this type of human behavior correlate with other scientific and technical revolutions? How do these behaviors correlate with other self-planned learning projects? How does this behavior correlate with an individual's ability to acquire hierarchical levels of understanding and knowledge? What causes individuals to persevere with cognitive and affective problem solving processes until a perceptual breakthrough occurs? The research of Houle (1984), Brookfield (1984 a & b), Mezirow (1985), Spear and Mocker (1984) and Kuhn (1970) could serve as a basis for further investigations of these questions.

SUMMARY

This research is atypical in that it focused on adults attempting to gain original knowledge and insight. The descriptions and inferences about these patterns of behavior add to the adult learning research base by illustrating the processes of a self-directed learning project. The methodology serves to exemplify a qualitative historical case study using naturalistic inquiry and content analysis to construct a model of learning patterns employed by individuals who are engaged in learning outside the boundaries of educational institutions.

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Breaking the bonds of poverty: a motivational profile of selected welfare single mothers entering college.

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Abstract: A motivational profile of a sample of adult women learners on welfare was obtained which showed high strivings for achievement coupled with fear of failure, concerns for world blocks, feelings of sorrow over separation and loss, but a strong sense of social power. Emerging high self esteem and high sense of control over one's destiny were also indicated. Implications for adult educators are discussed.

Introduction:

The feminization of poverty as portrayed by the single mother raising her family on Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) has become a pressing concern (Shaffer, 1988; Sands & Nuccio, 1989). In recent years several welfare reform initiatives have been attempted. For example, efforts have been made to include employment ("workfare") as a condition of welfare. This program has been severely criticized for its failure to address the underlying needs of this population (Miller, 1989) who seem to be caught in a double bind; if they work, they labor for inadequate wages; if they seek welfare they are stigmatized and penalized with inadequate financial support (Grella,1989). Other programs have been developed to link training and education in an attempt to prepare them for economic independence. However, such programs have had limited success (Garfinkel & McLanahan, 1986).

The many problems associated with these efforts are been both structural and personal: lack of adequate child care, for one; and the lack of understanding of motivational presses on the part of the individual recipient for another. In fact, much of the research in this area has been of aggregate, quantitative nature. Little attention has been paid to listening to "women's voices" and to understanding the problem from the eyes of the individual woman who may be trying to make sense of her world from a somewhat different perspective (Gilligan, 1982; Belencky, Clinchy, Goldberger& Tarule,1987; Miller, 1989).

Only recently have efforts been made to offer for these women participation in higher education as an intervention strategy . Fortunately, recent welfare reform (the Welfare Reform Act of 1989) has encouraged collaboration with higher education in providing training and education for welfare mothers. But, what do we know of these women in terms of their needs, their strengths, their weaknesses? How can we adapt our programs to serve this rapidly expanding group?

The present study is based on one such program (Chesbrough, 1989) in which both private and public funds are pooled to provide an opportunity for a selected group of welfare mothers to pursue a degree in higher education. An important element of this program is provision for day care, which can be seen as essential to the success of such programs. Questions can now be raised about these women. What are their motivational profiles? Are their developmental paths similar/different from successful women leaders who have achieved (Cheng, 1988)? If so, in what way? What are their perceptions of self, of challenges, or support? How do they view the role of higher education in searching for the road upward? In other words, what can they tell us of their struggles to survive and to overcome? How can their stories help practioners to better serve this often underserved population? These and other questions are being addressed. A longitudinal study of a selected group of welfare women pursuing a college degree is in process. Present paper will present certain baseline data, focusing on motivational aspects.

Method:

Subjects:

Subjects were recruited via a variety of sources: newspaper ads, admission office applicant, welfare office solicitation. Criteria for admission included: single mother on welfare meeting all Trinity College entrance requirements (high school diploma, or equivalent, evidence of academic potential, strength of character, maturity, motivation, and promise for continued personal growth and development as stated in p. 2, Trinity College catalog). In addition they were expected to demonstrate interest in and commitment to public service. Previous college experience was acceptable and evaluated in the admission process. Twelve subjects were selected and admitted in the fall of 1989.

Intervention:

Through both public and private funds, students were provided with full child day care, transportation assistance, books and supplies, as well as living expenses. A skilled academic advisor was assigned to assist them in making the transition to college. In return, students were expected to volunteer for 8-10 hours of community service in a setting of their choice. For this experience they would receive an additional stipend.

Instruments:

A battery of tests was given including motivational, personality, attitudinal, and cognitive styles such as Loevinger Sentence Completion Test (Loevinger, 1970); Thematic Apperception Test (McClelland,1973); Internal Locus of Control Scale (Rotter, 1965); Thinking Style Inventory (Harrison &Bransom, 1988), and Self Esteem Scale (Rosenberg, 1965). Patterned after a study of women leaders (Cheng, 1988) a life history narrative was obtained in which women were asked to tell in their own words how they came to be where they are today, what barriers they encountered and how they overcame them.

Procedures:

Testing was done in a group setting during orientation and before the start of classes. Later, individual interviews of one and one-half hour's duration were held. These were taped. The present paper focuses on selected motivational themes.

Results:

Biographical information.

The students ranged in age from 25-44, with an average age of approximately 34. All were receiving public assistance and all had dependent children at nome, ranging in age from toddlers to adolescence. Parental socio-economic background was likely to be blue collar. Without exception family background included a history of abuse, including alcohol, drug and/or sexual abuse.

Many of the women had dropped out of high school, later obtaining a GED. Several came to Trinity from other college experiences including community college and adult education programs. As expected from the criteria for selection the sample has a strong history of volunteer work in a variety of settings: church, school, working for handicapped, holding office in tenant's association, legal aide assistant, rape counseling center, etc. These efforts gave the women a sense of control and power over their situation. They know how to make the system work for them, then used this power to help others.

Support systems noted included the encouragement provided by adult educators in community college settings, social workers in programs such as Reach -Up, occasionally a welfare worker, and less often (but important) a family member, particularly a mother or grandmother.

Content analysis of TATs was done using an adaptation of McClelland's scoring system. Motivational profiles for the sample showed high strivings for achievement, but with considerable fear of failure themes and conflicts centering around world blocks. Less often voiced was a personal block. Affiliation themes of separation, sorrow, loss were predominant. Power concerns were primarily expressed in terms of social power, the concern for the empowerment of others.

The women also were high in internal locus of control (mean of 7.9), with remarkably high self esteem (mean of 28.42), considering their past experiences and the challenge of a new situation. They appreciated cognitive complexity with the majority showing an Idealist thinking style. Not surprisingly, they indicated androgynous sex role stereotyping. The profile that emerged is one of a woman with a strong sense of self and purpose, with high achievement strivings coupled with anxiety over performance and feelings of loss through separation. High power motives, especially social power, were seen in the TAT as well as in the life story.

The narrative life story confirmed these motivational profiles as these women spoke again and again of their strong strivings to overcome their past and to adapt to change. They had experienced barriers, they were realists, but they also were finding within themselves the courage to change. They expressed over and again strong beliefs in their ability to effect change and to empower others. The volunteer efforts were

expressed as important, even in some cases essential to their sense of purpose and well-being.

Implications:

This research may have implications and further insights for the practitioner working with high risk groups. Growth is a process of adaptation, of separating from the past in order to connect to the future. As we learn to listen to women's voices and to understand the motivational strivings of underserved populations we may be able to assist in this transformation. We need to be aware ofour diverse student body, especially of the needs of the underclass. We need to recognize their intense needs for challenge, for achievement, but also to understand that the fear of failure may be very real for them. They are survivors in an often inhospitable landscape; we need to recognize those skills and abilities they have developed out of their adversity. We need to to encourage them, support them, challenge them, yes, but we also need to know that they have unusual strengths.

Furthermore, as we follow these women through their college experience they may be able to tell us in very eloquent ways the transforming power of education, particularly the role of volunteerism in promoting concerns of social power. For, although their developmental paths are very disparate from the women leaders previously researched (Cheng, 1988), common themes of concern for others and the expression of social power were heard in these women's life narrative, suggesting that connectedness to others may be similar for women and that we need to pay attention to providing opportunities to utilize these motivational strivings.

The single mother on welfare represents one of our greatest challenges. We need to know what programs are most effective and in order to do so we need to listen to these women as they tell us who they are, what their concerns are, what their strengths are, thereby best facilitating their growth.

References available upon request.

UNIVERSAL ABANDON: POSTMODERNITY, POLITICS AND ADULT EDUCATION

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ABSTRACT: Postmodernism challenges many of the assumptions underlying the social change tradition in adult education. In so doing it calls into question, and demands a rethinking of, the relation between adult education and practical politics.

INTRODUCTION

For the past decade the postmodern challenge to Enlightenment thinking has been a major preoccupation of academics in the social and human sciences. Debate has been at times acrimonious, and opinion veers from a partisan antipathy to postmodernism which views it as the ultimate in the suppression of reason and as a threat to the democratic foundations of public life, to an equally partisan acceptance of the postmodern vision of the "end of Man", of the tyranny of totalizing narratives, and even of (radical) politics as it is generally conceived. This debate has now been taken up by educators in North America and has been used to explore the parameters of a postmodern praxis (Lather, 1988) and a rethinking of the relation of education to public life (Giroux, 1988). Within Anglo-American adult education the "crisis of modernity" has been explored in relation to identity, subjectivity, and experience and some work is being done on its relation to labour education (Casey, 1989). However, to our knowledge, adult education has yet to consider the impact of postmodern thought on its foundational bases and on the normative social and political goals it draws from these.

The purpose of our research was to offer an exploration of the debate around postmodernism and politics and to develop a preliminary assessment of its import for foundational thinking in adult education, primarily that informing the "social change" tradition. The paper outlines some concepts central to the project of modernity and sketches their relation to adult education thinking and to practical politics. It then identifies and discusses selected aspects of postmodernism and considers their implications for the theory, practice, and vision of the social change tradition.

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE, DATA, and METHOD OF ANALYSIS

In broad if paradoxical terms, the research was framed by the authors' commitment to both the ideal of emancipation figured by the Modern era and the postmodern thinking which explores the limits of that ideal. Our study examined representative works from the liberal, social reformist, and socialist theory that informs adult education foundational thinking, and the writing of selected authors concerned with postmodernism, particularly those who discuss "post-Marxism". The research: first, identified modernist assumptions in adult education thought; second, drew from postmodernism a critique of those assumptions; and third, addressed the implications of that critique for adult education.

FINDINGS and DISCUSSION

Modernity, practical politics, and adult education

Enlightenment thinking, with its focus on science, totality, reason, progress, and history, helped form many of our ideas about freedom and rights, and thus extended reflection on the nature of the modern state. But it was the fundamental restructuring of economic and social life occasioned by capitalism that gave the project of modernity its political edge. The transformations of the eighteenth century -- the bourgeois

revolution -- shifted political power away from privilege toward wealth, giving rise to a civil society in which private individuals were free to pursue their own interests (Gamble, 1981) The major system of ideas to emerge from this era was liberalism but, as Andrew Gamble notes, liberalism itself was split along ideological lines into two strands: one strand focussed on liberty and individual opportunity free of restraint, the second emphaiszed democracy. The latter democratic strand in turn gave rise to two approaches to social change that have since dominated twentieth century politics: social democracy and socialism. While both strands shared similar values and assumptions about "Man", were critical of capitalism, and sought to emancipate people economically and politically, they differed in their socio-political visions and in their view of revolution. Social democracy sought to reform capitalism through constitutional means; socialism sought to transform it through revolution. However, socialism viewed social revolution not as an end in itself but rather as the means to realize human emancipation. Subsequently, socialist movements and parties have often failed to distinguish political and human emancipation (Miliband, 1977).

Both liberalism and the various strands of social democratic thought saw a need for people to be educated or "enlightened" if they were to act politically. And they shared in common a concern for the emancipation of humankind which viewed people as the subject of history and educational work/consciousness raising as a central element in bringing about social change. But this position was best exemplified in radical democratic politics which, from the French Revolution on, had been premised on a fundamental belief in human agency and the power of reason. Even though the cohesion of the political Left has disintegrated steadily over the past decades, popular radical education still pivots around the twin poles of conscientization and political mobilization.

Adult education took shape in the early twentieth century within a liberal framework, although liberal and social democratic ideas soon came together in what Raymond Williams (1961) terms a "public education" tradition. In adult education, the focus of reformist public educators was the newly enfranchised working class. This focus gave rise to a variety of initiatives in worker education on both sides of the Atlantic, in Western Europe, and in several former British colonies. For example, the liberal-reformist sentiment of the "1919 Report" on adult education not only reflected trends in Britain but was also congruent with ideas held by Jane Addams, Mary and Charles Beard, John Dewey and others. And it was within this reformist atmosphere that the vision of adult education as the principal means of developing an informed, rational, "educated" democratic citizens came about.

While some important socialist adult educators allied themselves with this movement, others attempted during the inter-war years to maintain a radical, transformative perspective by offering independent, explicitly socialist, education. But with the emergence of the post WW II welfare state compromise, McCarthyism, and the impact on the Western Left of Stalinism, radical adult education became increasingly marginalized. Nonetheless, there is a strong sense in which the educative dimension of the radical social movements of the 1960s and 1970s and subsequent neo-Marxist critiques of adult education represent a continuation of the earlier radical tradition. It is the extent to which adult education shares conceptions of humanity, social vision, and theories of social change with liberal and radical traditions of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that it can be said to be framed by the project of modernity.

Postmodernism and politics

The term postmodern is now widely used as descriptive of a cultural aesthetic, a philosophic movement, and a societal condition (Casey, 1989). Although not an homogeneous movement, postmodernism draws from a range of theoretical perspectives that share a focus on language, representation, subjectivity, and power (Weedon, 1987). Postmodernism interrogates the master narratives of foundations and totality that underpin Enlightenment faith in science and progress; it emphasizes languages not as a representation of reality but as productive of narratives of the real; and it calls into question Enlightenment and humanist notions predicated on a unified, rational, self-determining consciousness. While all of these have implications for discourses of emancipation (such as social democracy and socialism), for present purposes we will concentrate on postmodern approaches to subjectivity and power as both a prelude to and the best way of moving toward discussion of the political implications of postmodernism.

In contrast to humanist discourse, which presupposes some essence central to who and what people are (be this unified rational consciousness or true human nature alienated by capitalism), and which offers a fairly static or essentialized view of humanity, postmodernism sees the subject as socially produced in language. Drawing on structural and post-structural linguistics (which emphasize language as constructing meaning rather than reflecting reality) and, to some extent, on Althusser's notion of interpellation postmodernism views the subject as "decentered": identity does not follow unproblematically from experience, but is in flux, contradictory, and historically mutable, shifting with the variety of discourses that call people to identify with various subject positions (Weedon, 1987).

It is the notion of discourse in particular that bridges the issues of subjectivity and power, and here we would like to talk for a short while about the work of Michel Foucault as it is he who gives the fullest postmodern exposition of the interrelations between discourse, subjectivity and power. Foucault's theory of discursive power is neither determinist nor monocausal, and it dislocates the site of power's operation from the state or "public" realm. Broadly defining power as a "set of actions which act upon other actions" Foucault suggests we scrutinize power in domains previously considered personal, private, or natural (Foucault, 1982). Foucault further suggests that people are both subject of and subject to discourses and practices which entail varying degrees of empowerment. This argument implies that, contra Marxism, although people may choose to focus on one dominant power relation such as class, peoples lives cannot be reduced to any one category: human activity is structured by and (re)produces multiple sets of power relations.

One reason for this is that power works in indirect ways, by seduction and incitement as much as by force and restraint. It is this productive aspect of power that makes us accomplices in our own subjection. This view of power, which emerges from a critique of the repressive hypothesis (Foucault, 1980) also suggests both why change is so difficult and how resistance might be possible. Although power functions by tying people to identities (albeit multiple ones), as subsequent commentators have pointed out, this view is inadequate because it allows us to ignore the different powers entailed in the "achieved" identities. To give an example, to be positioned as a feminine subject is different from being positioned as a masculine subject, and it is both the process of that positioning and the product which endows us with different powers. Once a subject is tied to his/her gender identity, he/she is no longer a neutral subject but a

masculine or feminine one with different means and motives for resistance to his/her identity (de Lauretis, 1987). Within postmodernism the struggle is not so much one of class based political emancipation which demands we discover who and what we are (removing the ideological scales from our eyes) but is, rather, to refuse what we are or how we have been positioned by various discourses (although, of course, this is contingent upon a subject position which endows one with the knowledge and power to implement change).

While postmodernism obviously challenges the discourses of emancipation, there is some question as to whether it implies a rejection of modernity in toto or simply indicates a crisis in particular Enlightenment projects (Mouffe, 1989). As Lash and Urry (1987) note, there is something classless about postmodern politics, a condition furthered by the radical restructuring of industry (which has undermined the conditions which facilitated dialogue within class homogeneous communities), and fostered by the distribution of modernist cultural forms and the effects of the electronic media (which have sped the dissolution of class specific collective identity). What is obvious is that in its rejection of universal propositions about humankind and its capacities, and in its focus on a micropolitics of power, postmodernism reforms -- if not rejects -- the universal analyses of society and of its transformations upon which the radical and reformist traditions in adult education have traditionally been premised. In particular postmodernism calls into question the socialist claim to be able both to subsume other oppositional movements (such as those arising out of "identity politics") and to accomodate their demands (Aronowitz, 1988). "Post-Marxists", notably Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffee (1985) specifically and forcefully reject the idea that any class constitutes the new "historical agent" of social change. Instead they argue that the "new social movements" present a pluralized radical agenda which, in renouncing claims to universality, also suggests the lack of connection between or overarching framework to unite the struggles of these various groups (Ross, 1988).

But where does this leave the radical tradition in adult education? And what does it leave for the radical intellectual, so often figured as the interpreter of the goals of the social movements, to do? A starting point is to examine the response of other left wing intellectuals to the loss of foundational, authoritative grounding. Some, such as Jurgen Habermas, reject postmodernism for fear of its inherent contextual relativism; others advise a version of "pessimistic activism", a concentration on the local and contingent struggles which replace class politics (Lather, 1988). A third group would see the present crises of the Left as affording an opportunity to rework analyses of society in order to recognize and connect plural interests (Williams, 1989); and there are still others who reaffirm the centrality of class analysis, such as Ellen Wood (1986). Although there is a marked variation in their reaction to postmodernism, these responses nevertheless reaffirm the idea that active processes of education -- broadly conceived -- can still offer ways in which people can attempt to work through contemporary social crises. What is absent from the present analysis on the Left, however, is that sense of certainty and fervour which marked Left politics and adult education at the turn of the twentieth century: at best socialism is now viewed as no more than one option among many, and one gradually losing out to various forms of social democracy.

IMPLICATIONS AND CONSIDERATIONS

Despite the pessimism of the Left, there is a strong sense in which the postmodernist challenge and the various responses to it underscore the central place of adult

education in radical politics. Even if one were to accept an extreme version of the "pluralized radical agenda" thesis, theories of political mobilization are still premised on notions of consciousness raising. But most contemporary social and political theorists do not argue for such an extreme vision: Lash and Urry (1987), for example, talk about the necessity to bring together class based and new social movements. While we each have our own ideas about which particular analysis may prove to be the most fruitful, exploring them is beyond the present scope of this paper. The immediate challenge for the social change tradition in adult education is to pick its way through the debate in order to recuperate the positive in postmodernism. In particular, we find encouraging postmodernism's potential affirmation of a politics of difference, an affirmation which signals not so much the end of politics as a new stage in which a common articulation of diverse struggles is called for.

SIGNIFICANCE

This research offers an introduction to the political turn in the modern/postmodern debate, suggesting how it might modify foundational thinking in adult education and inform our present-day understanding of the relations between politics and adult education.

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The Impact of Participatory Research on Building a Better Community

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Abstract

Participatory research is an effective approach to educate adults by involving people in community action. People in Conrad, a small rural community in Montana, took part in a participatory research project from 1946-1948 which led to community development for the next four decades. Community of memory which identified community values and traditions, and personal development of participants stand out as the elements which created the long-term success of the group in community action and development.

Introduction

Participatory research intertwines research, education and action to promote social transformation. Hall (1981) defines participatory research as a research process in which the community participates in the analysis of its own reality in order to promote social transformation for the benefit of participants. Participatory research has three salient characteristics as suggested by Brookfield (1983, pp. 142-143):

(1) The community research group is fully involved and in charge of the definition of the problem, the collection of information, and the analysis of the results.

(2) The primary goal of participatory research is the development of the community and society with ultimate benefit for the individuals in the community, rather than the pursuit of knowledge characteristic in the traditional research paradigm.

(3) The process of participatory research results in an awareness of the participant's individual contributions, talents, and resources, as well as a continued commitment to the improvement of their community.

The year was 1943. The Montana State University System, through a three-year grant from the Rockefeller Foundation, launched an experiment in trying to stabilize small, rural communities in Montana. Montana had for forty years suffered extensively from drought and depression. What once had been prosperous communities had become ghost towns. The project, called the Montana Study, used the Danish Folk School model of discussion groups and participatory research process which involved community members in finding ways to improve the economic, social, and cultural aspects of life (Brownell, 1944, p. 7).

Thirteen study groups, including the Conrad Study Group, went through the ten-week research and discussion group process between 1944 and 1947. The groups researched, analyzed, and discussed the following areas:

(1) The composition of the community as to nationality, history, occupation, religion, politics, education, and recreation; how formal and informal organizations played a part in human companionship; and how those human connections could be expanded.

(2) The relationships among the community, state, and nation; what the possibilities for the community and the state could be; and how action could facilitate change by helping to find ways to gain control over the means of making a living and developing the cultural and artistic aspects within the community (Brownell, 1945, pp. 21-47).

Statement of the Problem

The initial investigation of the records and interviews with participants from nine of the thirteen study groups indicated that the study-group experience had different effects in the various communities

and on participants. Conrad, which conducted a study, created an action group which facilitated change for forty years while in other communities little change came out of the studies (Counter, 1989).

The first purpose of this study was to examine the factors in the Conrad Study Group which lead to the community action and development over a long period of time. The second purpose was to examine the personal growth and development of those who had participated in the groups and whether participation in the community study and action group had affected the growth.

Methodology

The method used for this research was a quasi-longitudinal case study using historical analysis. Primary and secondary documents of the Montana Study from the archives of the Montana Historical Society, Helena, MT, and the Rockefeller Foundation, Tarrytown, NY, were used in the research. The documents included minutes, correspondence, evaluation of the study groups, and a case study done by Poston on the Montana Study in 1950.

Secondly, three researchers from the Kellogg Center for Adult Learning Research interviewed nine elderly participants of the Conrad Study and Action Group. The interviews were transcribed and assimilated with the historical records and documents. Nine theme areas were identified. Two of those areas, values and personal development, are discussed in this paper.

Conrad Study Group

The group formed October 16, 1945. The fourteen people, who were involved in the study group, readily accepted the cooperative learning fostered in the Montana Study. Because of their cooperative spirit they survived drought, bad winters, post-war deflation and depression which had devastated the economy of the area. "My husband had gone through the bad years around 1919 when almost everyone went broke. That's when they separated the men from the boys" (O'Brien, 1989). "Cooperation was important to surviving. They (the farmers) got together to buy coal and other products they needed"(Keil, 1989). Through all of the hard times, they remained optimistic and retained a spirit that through working together, the community could survive anything including depression and war.

The following recollections show the active involvement of all the participants: "The social aspect of learning was really important. I had to drive sixteen miles, and I did not miss a meeting" (Hostadder, 1989). "We had a wonderful time working together" (Marsh, 1989). "Out of the discussions of the research, problems within the community began to surface" (Hostadder, 1989). Through the discussions, others such as the Farmers Union people, learned that they also had something to contribute. They found that each person was important to getting a well-rounded perspective of an issue. "The Study was a tool where we could use our skills to help the community. We were once two groups--townspeople and dumb farmers--and the Study brought us together. They found out we (the farmers) were doing a lot of things they (the townspeople) did not know about, and we (the participants in the study) learned a lot about each other" (Floerchinger, 1989). The bonds formed during the Montana Study would continue and be beneficial to projects undertaken in the community.

Community of Memory

One of the most important discussions this group had was on the changes which were happening within their community. The discussion identified community values which the group tried to preserve. Bellah et el. (1985) described the process as the community of memory, which involved the telling of stories and legends of a community that embodies the values of the community. Through those values,

people "define the patterns of loyalty and obligation that keep the community alive (Bellah et.al., 1985, p. 153).

The Conrad Study Group discussed their traditions, their past, and the values which had helped the community survive the bad times. The discussion started on what the differences were among the ideals of the frontier people and the modern people.

> The frontier people accepted challenges of problems [while] moderns seek professional aid; the frontier led to stability of friendship while moderns [have] more acquaintances; frontier people planned a more static society [while] moderns social contacts reach farther" (Marsh, 1945, p. 19).

This group recognized how the changes in transportation and communications were effecting their social, economic, and political world (Marsh, 1945, p. 20). They decided the advantages of modernization were better towns, more satisfaction and pride to citizens. Disadvantages they said were that " a wide range of activities scattered interest, had a tendency to create disunity, and created breakdowns of old-fashioned loyalty. "Citizens lose perspective and fail to see their own local problems" (Marsh, 1945, p. 20).

They brainstormed a list of cherished ideals and values from their old traditions which they hoped they could blend into their changing world and way of life. The list went as follows:

> (1) The pioneers solved their own problems.
> (2) They established true friendships in the sanctuaries of their own community.
> (3) The pioneers were visionaries, but stable and knew proper values of life.
> (4) The pioneers accepted the modern, but measured it in the light of the true and tried.
> (5) We need to remember the solid, progressive community is subject to exploitation and guard against it (Marsh, 1945, p. 20).

The five values became important themes which influenced both the members of the study group and the action group. They believed they could solve their own problems. "We didn't have to have outside help" (O'Brien, 1989). "We had come through the depression, and our community needed an awful lot. It was up to us to do it" (O'Brien & Marsh, 1989). They learned to value the friendships and social networks. "A good community was started. Great cooperation, enthusiasm, and friendships developed which lasted over time" (Andersen, 1989). "It did not take a big organization to do the projects. We learned that if we worked together we could do it" (Floerchinger, 1989). They also remembered not to turn over their community to others. "It's the kind of thing of which the community has to be aware, that is not letting other outsiders come in and take over because it is not in the best interest of the community" (O'Brien, 1989). They continued to have the visionary view of the pioneers and grabbed opportunities for the community.

The Conrad Action Group

The energy, spirit, involvement, and commitment within the study group were transferred from the Montana Study to the newly formed community action group. The community action group was opened to all the organizations in the community. "We organized the Pondera Education and Recreation Association. We planted the seed in people" (Floerchinger, 1989). The association became a clearing-house for community projects. The group continued to use the method of research from the Montana Study. They were not afraid to have open discussion on their ideas which seemed to bring about better projects and stronger support throughout the community. "We were able to overcome the single issue focus which so many other communities have" (Keil, 1989).

The group remained proactive over the next forty years. "The things that kept us on track were the changes in the economy in the town and in agriculture--the ups and downs. We were always keeping

the ups going. We were always busy" (O'Brien, 1989). The list of projects which have been done were quite impressive. The projects include a new high school, hospital, rest home, library, swimming pool, senior transportation center, and retirement apartments. The dreams of this community just did not happen. "A lot of the projects we've done have taken nerve, courage, and friendship" (Keil, 1989).

Personal Growth and Development

The dynamic growth of the community action group paralleled the tremendous personal growth of the individual. However, the attention paid to the community of memory was in direct contrast to the attention paid to their personal development. "I was so busy I didn't have time to think about what it was (personal development). I never thought about myself. I was too busy being interested in the learning" (Floerchinger, 1989). Amidst a group that experienced incredible personal growth, it was a topic that was always superceded by caretaker roles, community action, learning for fun, tackling new problems with enthusiasm, and enjoying the camaraderie of their group. Because they were not cognizant of their personal development, assessment of this was difficult.

The Montana Study impacted their personal growth in many ways. The people gained much pride and satisfaction with the successive achievements of the Montana Study and the community action group. "I'm proud we got all this for our community" (Keil, 1989). "I felt a lot of satisfaction in what was accomplished in the Pondera Education and Recreation Association" (Andersen, 1989). A vast amount of knowledge was acquired by the individual about the community, the specific project, and the systems running the organizations. This led to a much broader view of the world and appreciation for its complexity. It opened their eyes to humankind and their struggles. "The Farmers Union and the Montana Study gave us a broader view of things that were important to the world" (Hostadder, 1989).

The Montana Study was significant in their personal development by providing them a means to employ the skills and knowledge they had learned through informal and formal organizations, such as the Farmers Union. "We learned so much on community action and managing large projects. It was a chance for us to learn community action" (Hostadder, 1989). An important element of learning community action was the problem-posing and research format introduced by the Montana Study.

Each developed an identity within that group by pursuing their interests and developing an expertise. One of the women had an obvious inclination for the financial backing of the projects, with her comments about the projects usually framed in financial information. Even in the summer of 1989, she was well aware of the finances involved in the new swimming pool. "I've got great-grandchildren coming on, and I'm happy they're learning to swim at an early age. Saving one life is worth $400,000" (O'Brien, 1989). Another aspect of their developing identity was recognizing their weaknesses. "I know my limitations. I know what I can't do. But I am chairman of the Nominating Committee for Legacy Legislature. If I have a program, I'll get it done" (Keil, 1989). Group work in the Montana Study and the community action group yielded many positive outcomes for their individual development. One woman discovered the effectiveness of group work. "I learned from the Montana Study about the power of working together and instigating projects" (Floerchinger, 1989). Most agreed they learned the importance of the social and fun aspects of working in groups. "It was a lot of work, but it was a lot of fun. We all had a good time" (Marsh & O'Brien, 1989). "Meeting all the new people was nice and made me want to continue being around new people the rest of my life" (O'Brien, 1989).

Conclusion

The Montana Study had an impact on the greater community of Conrad. "The Montana Study had as much influence as anything has had in the community in getting projects rolling" (O'Brien, 1989). It brought about a strong commitment and a strong involvement for bettering the community from those

who participated. The study brought together a fairly divergent group of people. It was a tool in which these folks were able to share their knowledge as they worked together, helping to nurture one another.

The Montana Study helped the group focus on the important values and traditions of the community. Bellah (1985) described this as "the community of memory". The study group had retold the stories of the pioneers, and they identified the values and traditions which embodied and exemplified the meaning of their community. Bellah (1985) described this process as tying to the past which turns the people toward the "future as a community of hope. "The five traditions: solving their own problems, establishing true friendships, being visionary yet knowing the proper values of life, accepting the modern but measuring it in the light of tradition, and remembering to guard against exploitation from the outside; all became themes and guiding lights for the people as they worked together over the years. In the process of working together, the members experienced a great deal of personal development. Largely, this went unrecognized by the individual. The Montana Study had a strong effect on many areas. Every individual was able to draw on their interests and experiences to develop an expertise greatly valued by the group. Also, each had the opportunity to learn the skills necessary for community action. A highlight for all was learning the pleasure of working in a group.

When people reflect on their experiences in the Montana Study and community action group, they tell about their satisfaction in making their community a good place to live. "The Montana Study and Pondera Education Association were good organizations which became the nucleus of community action throughout the years" (Andersen, 1989). "We brought the whole community together" (Floerchinger and Hostadder, 1989). "The Montana Study and the Pondera Education and Recreation Association were tools where we could use our skills to help the community . . . To get people interested, you need to study about the needs. You can study about how to do a meeting, but if you don't have a purpose, they won't stay. We all talked about what would make this a better place to raise our kids and we looked for new interest" (Floerchinger, 1989). "Working together was fun" (Andersen, 1989).

When the people were asked what they would give as advice to the younger generation, they said, "The most important thing to teach young people is to get involved" (Floerchinger, 1989). When asked what lessons can be learned from their community, Norma Keil summed it up the best, "A community is working together. The way the overall community has been able to work, even though we are individuals or are in small focus groups, is our ability to come together and discuss [issues] over time. We haven't developed into factions and we have stayed on that. We have been able to listen to others and respect their thoughts as being different from our own. Respecting other peoples' ideas is really important. I think it is remarkable that we have these kind of people to work with in this community. We have people who work with each other. I hope it continues so the younger generation has as much fun as we have had putting it all together. "

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Helping them Cope: How ABE Teachers Make Sense of and Act Upon Students' Social and Psychological Concerns

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Abstract: This paper reports on an ethnographic study that was conducted to develop a deeper understanding of the way in which Adult Basic Education (ABE) teachers conceptualize their role in ABE classrooms. Analysis of the data supports the claim that the language used to describe ABE students becomes the language used to express program aims and, consequently, the language of instruction and curriculum.

Problem Statement: Within the last 10 years, the problem of illiteracy has gained widespread attention in the United States from virtually all segments of our society. In this latest drive, political, business, and educational leaders have stressed the fact there are millions of adults in our country who are "functionally illiterate" (Kozol, 1985). Calls abound at both the national and state levels to mobilize an all out effort to "eradicate" illiteracy. An aspect of this "literacy movement" that is becoming increasingly prevalent is the notion that the illiterate or semi-literate suffers a whole host of innumerable problems, attributable, in large part, to their illiteracy. Viewed from the perspective of white, middle class values, these individuals are described as educationally or culturally disadvantaged, undereducated, psychosocially in need or deprived. Studies of Adult Basic Education (ABE) and other literacy programs tend to support these various characterizations (Mezirow, Darkenwald & Knox, 1975). For purposes of discussion, the remainder of the paper will refer primarily to ABE programs). In the words of one of our teacher-informants, her ABE students are living "troubled lives", a term which seems to capture the findings of prior studies of ABE participants. One would be hard pressed to identify other forms of organized, voluntary education in which the perceived psychosocial and economic needs of the participants are so great.

It is not at all clear, however, that the individuals to whom these descriptions are directed see themselves in these terms. As Hunter and Harman point out (1979), they may only feel powerless and disadvantaged with respect to certain of society's benefits. This is a view of the ABE student that is considerably different from the severe deprivation typically associated with this group of the population. Thus, how one characterizes this population of adults depends on one's point of view. The point of view that is taken by decision-makers often has direct and important implications for social policy and educational planning. Where the first view often leads to programs that are remedial and adjustment oriented, the latter view can lead to programs that are empowering and transformative.

A group of individuals for which this question of perception of need becomes crucial are those directly responsible for helping adults acquire literacy and basic skills. Chief among these are ABE teachers. We know relatively little, however, how ABE teachers understand and interpret the lives of their students, how they act on this knowledge in the ABE classroom, and whether the attributions of ABE participants developed by teachers are shared by the participants themselves. How do ABE teachers characterize their students and how do they use this knowledge in the process of facilitating the acquisition of literacy and basic skills? These are the fundamental questions to which the present study is directed. Answers to these questions may help us better understand the issues of participation, persistence and attrition in ABE.

Conceptual Framework and Methods: The present study is part of a larger ethnographic project that is designed to develop a deeper understanding of the learning environment in ABE programs. The term "learning environment" is one way to conceptualize in an educational manner the social context of the ABE classroom. The term refers to both the

emotional climate (quality of the affect manifest by teachers and students) and the teacher's management of participant behavior, their learning tasks, and the kinds of intellectual processes in which the participants engage (Soar & Soar, 1980). This study focused primarily on how teacher characterizations of their students is related to how they manage the learning environment. By focusing on teacher management, we intended to make explicit the belief structures which teachers use to structure social interactions and learning tasks and the way in which they managed students' cognitive processes.

The specific methods of data collection and analysis were guided by the assumptions of the ethnographic approach (Spradley, 1979; 1980). The central aim of the ethnographic approach is to develop an understanding of the cultural knowledge that guides the various actors within a given social situation. Spradley (1980) defines cultural knowledge as "the acquired knowledge people use to interpret experience and generate behavior" (p. 6). In this study, we assumed that the classroom behaviors of ABE teachers and the activities that they structure are guided by both a tacit and explicit understanding of the needs of their students and how their needs might be most appropriately addressed within the ABE classroom. The aim of our data collection and analysis was to make explicit the knowledge used by the teachers to guide their behaviors in this particular social setting. The primary source of our data for this study were interviews with ABE teachers. Data from participant observation were used to augment the interview data.

Ethnographic interviews (Spradley, 1979) were conducted with six teachers in a moderately sized ABE program in the Midwest. The teachers were referred to us by the program administration as some of the program's "best teachers". The teachers consisted of five women and one man, all caucasian and ranging in age from late 20s to mid 50s. The teachers all hold baccalaureate degrees. One holds a masters degree in reading. In addition, several have completed some graduate work. All of the women had at least eight years of experience in ABE and all were certified as elementary school teachers. The male teacher was not a certified teacher and had approximately one year of experience in ABE. All but one teacher were employed in the program parttime. Their students ranged in age from 16 to over 70, with the majority in their late 20s to early 30s. The ratio of men to women and the number of nonwhite participants varied considerably among the teacher's classes in their programs. Virtually every class, however, was heterogeneous with respect to these variables.

The protocol used for these interviews was developed according to the principles of ethnographic interviewing (Spradley, 1979). The protocol consisted primarily of descriptive questions, with some structural questions used to develop deeper understandings. The question "Can you describe the participants in your program? is an example of a descriptive question. An example of a structural question related to the same topic is: "In what ways are the participants in your program similar or different?" These interviews were tape recorded and verbatim transcriptions were prepared of each interview. These transcriptions were then subjected to a series of ethnographic analyses, using the procedures advocated by Spradley (1980). To summarize, this analysis consisted of identifying the cultural domains (patterns of meaning) represented in the interviews and then selecting a few domains for further taxonomic and thematic analyses. The domains that were selected for further analysis were chosen on the basis of our theoretical and practical interests in the learning environment of the ABE classroom. From this analysis, we developed cultural inferences regarding the knowledge that seems to be guiding the teachers' classroom behaviors.

In addition to teacher interviews, over 150 hours of observation have been conducted in six different ABE classrooms. The researchers worked as volunteer tutors in these classrooms over a period of one year. The data derived from these observations provide additional information on, among other things, the teachers' perceptions of their classroom role. For this reason, these data were used to augment the analysis of the teacher interviews.

Results - The initial domain analysis conducted on the transcripts of the teacher interviews revealed over 40 different cultural domains or patterns of meaning effective four different forms of semantic relationships. (Spradley, 1980). From these we selected three domains for further analysis: 1) Attributes of the student; 2) Kinds of teacher functions; and 3) Ways of helping students. Analysis of these domains are the basis for the findings discussed in the remainder of this paper. It is important to emphasize that these findings relate only to the teachers' perceptions of the student, their functions, and ways in which they help students.

The ABE Student. Several kinds of attributes identified teacher descriptions of their students: 1) Psychosocial; 2) Economic; 3) Academic; 4) Gender; 5) Age; and 6) Ethnic or cultural background. Of these, the last three were fairly straightforward and descriptive. Characteristic of the first three, however, were implicit valencies in the attributes identified. That is, the attributes discussed by the teachers were all related to some implicit norm. For example, several teachers described the students as being "financially depressed" in "having financial difficulties". Again several teachers characterized the students as "lacking self confidence" and having "low self esteem" or a "poor self concept". Thus, many of the attributes used by the teachers to describe their students reflected this quality of valence. For purposes of analysis, we combined the economic attributes with the psychosocial attributes. Subsequent analysis then focused on the psychosocial and academic attributions.

Five of the six teachers used a predominance of psychosocial attributes to describe their students. As a group, the ratio of psychosocial to academic attributes was almost two to one. That is, in characterizing the nature of their students, the teachers tended to emphasize their psychosocial qualities over academic or intellectual qualities. The psychosocial attributes emphasize some aspect of the student's psychological self in relation to some field of the outer world (Erikson, 1950). These field include family, work, friends, and self. Furthermore, the teachers used a predominance of psychosocial attributes, in a ratio of over 3 to 1, reflecting a valence of need, want, deprivations, or disadvantages. The following attributes exemplify the valence of need or want: "Most lack a safety net"; "Many came from broken homes"; "Many didn't feel good about who they are"; "have low self esteem"; "they don't like their jobs"; "Most are on welfare or the poverty level"; "Couples breaking up, men getting divorced"; and "lot of them just hanging on". Teachers also used attributes that reflected more positive qualities but these were much less frequently mentioned. Examples of this positive valence are: "Many have support behind them"; they are really powerful people"; "pretty highly motivate"; "punctual"; and "warm, wonderful, very interesting people".

Teacher also used academic attributes to describe their students but with less frequency than the psychosocial attributes. In addition, teachers were likely to identify positive academic attributes almost as frequently as negative attributes. Examples of attributes which emphasized the academic strengths of the students include the following: "Everybody is there to learn"; "most can read well"; "Work well on their own"; "No discipline problems"; "Half to three quarters have ability to pass the GED"; "They love homework"; and "they really catch on (to computers) quickly". Examples of academic attributes which reflected on deficiency include: "See themselves as poor learners" (which can also be psychosocial); "Hesitant to ask questions"; "Fear of failing due to 'typical' classroom experience"; "Some have unrealistic expectations"; "All have dropped out of school"; "They don't often read"; "Have a negative attitude towards education"; and "Big, big gaps in their education".

In summary, the attributes used by teachers to describe their students emphasized the psychosocial needs or problems with which ABE students are perceived to be struggling. Academic attributes tended to stress the strengths as well as the weaknesses of the students. Many of the attributes we identified as related to academic issues reflected psychosocial dimensions as well. (eg. "Many have a very negative attitude towards education"). Thus, the ABE teachers participating in this study seem to view their students lives primarily from a

psychosocial perspective. In addition, this view tends tends to stress the psychosocial needs or problems that they perceive as characterizing the life of their students. It is a view, however, that is taken with considerable empathy for the students. As they describe their students or made references to them, there was a sense of warmth and caring evident in their voice and facial expressions.

How, then, do the teachers interpret these attributes of their students with respect to the acquisition of literacy and basic skills? From the interviews, it is quite clear that these psychosocial problems are viewed by the ABE teachers as largely barriers to learning. Learning is defined as "reading, writing, and computing." A few quotes, some which even use the term "barrier", will serve to illustrate this claim. "Personal problems ar a barrier to learning." "Barriers include self-worth, self-esteem, how they view themselves as students." One teacher remarked that these students have "big survival concerns that, if in jeopardy, learning doesn't take place." At times, the student is dismissed because of psychosocial problems, "If they are having a big struggle, I've told them to just go on home." Perceptions of the students as having poor self-esteem or self-image were also interpreted as barriers to learning, "People with no self-confidence don't learn well." One teacher referred to a woman who was apparently battered by her husband and doesn't know now what to do, said, "She is not going to be able to do geometry or learn formulas." In identifying barriers or obstacles to learning, the teachers reflected two principal assumptions of considerable significance to this study: 1) Learning is defined largely in traditional, academic terms, such as reading, writing, and computing; and 2) Many of the psychosocial attributes they use to characterize their students are viewed as immediate or potential obstacles to the learning process.

Thus, the picture that has been painted thus far consists of teachers receiving students who, they believe, have a whole host of psychosocial problems. Furthermore, they believe that many of these problems will severely limit their ability to accomplish the academic goals of the program. Clearly evident in their characterizations is the assumption that the students need help. Furthermore, as we shall see, it is the role of "helping them to cope" with these problems that provides their perceptions of how they should manage the learning environment or the social context of the classroom. We now turn to a discussion of how the teachers structure and manage the classroom as a learning environment as a way of illustrating the theme of "helping them cope".

The Social Context of the Classroom. Teacher descriptions of what they actually do in the ABE classroom, upon initial analysis, came to be represented in several domains. All of these domains, however, had in common the general theme of working with and assisting students in some way. As with the student attributions, this theme represented both academic and psychosocial kinds of items. For example, the teachers typically described what they do in the classroom in activities related to the academic goals of the program: testing, rotating and working one on one with students, "checking student work", "securing proper materials", and "talking with students about what words mean". Much of the descriptions of their activities, however, tended to reflect a more psychosocial nature. There were an abundance of these descriptors, of which only a few can be given here. Teachers talked about giving students a "pat on the back" , "caring about them", "giving them praise", dwelling "on the positive and not the negative", "listening to them", "talking about the baggage [in order to] get it out of the way", or to "direct them to some help" if the problem is severe. Several of the teachers characterized their role as a "friend", a "sounding board", and a "clearinghouse". Most of the teachers emphasized the importance of being there for the students and being willing to listen and talk about their psychosocial problems.

Virtually all of the teachers referred to the need to foster student-student relationships. They varied considerably in the frequency with which they actually facilitated these forms of interactions. They all viewed them as important, however, for addressing or overcoming some

of the psychosocial issues that students bring to class. Several related the facilitation of interactions to the development of a positive atmosphere in order to, in the words of one teacher, "keep students coming back and to help each other". Other reasons identified for fostering interactions include the student's "need to talk", to "find meaning in their lives", to cultivate a "sense of support and belongingness", and to develop "effective teaching and helping - show them a better way". Three of the teachers stressed the importance of facilitating interactions as a way of reaching academic goals.

Thus, the evidence strongly suggests that the teachers view a significant aspect of their role as in psychosocial terms. To what end is this sort of activity directed? The interview data seem to suggest that the teachers perceive a kind of reciprocal relationship between helping students with their psychosocial problems and enabling them to accomplish academic goals. On the one hand, providing help and support for students' psychosocial problems may enable them to experience greater academic achievement. This is turn, will provide them with an even greater means to overcome some of their psychosocial problems. In the words of one teacher, "I realize they can't always learn and think if they have a lot of emotional problems, but I also want them to realize that if they do set a goal and achieve that goal, that, maybe they can overcome some of these problems". For some of the teachers, academic learning is a way of "feeling better about themselves", building up self-confidence, increasing self-esteem, and even improving fairly practical matters of daily living, such as child care, jobs, and abusive relationships - in short, "getting out of the negative".

Thus, we have provided evidence that teachers tend to emphasize, albeit in an empathic and caring way, the psychosocial problems of their students, that they view these problems as primary or potential barriers to learning, and that they view their role primarily in terms of helping them cope. What kinds of things to teachers then suggest are indicative of a successful helping process? Once again, teachers expressed these gains in terms of both academic and psychosocial terms. The dominant terms used, however, are consistent with the previous assertions - the gains teachers perceive students making are largely expressed in psychosocial terms. A few examples should suffice to illustrate this claim: "Happy changes in their lives", "From not feeling good about themselves to self-esteem", "Not beating or hitting the kids", and, simply, "achieve a better lifestyle".

Conclusion and Implications: This study was designed to address two questions: 1) How do ABE teachers describe their ABE students? and 2) How do they use this knowledge to structure and manage the learning environment of the ABE classroom? Ethnographic interviews were conducted with six ABE teachers and the transcripts from these interviews were subjected to extensive analysis using techniques and procedures appropriate for ethnographic data. On the basis of theoretical and practical interest, three domains were selected for further analysis. These domains were attributes of the student; kinds of teacher functions; and ways that the teacher helps. Subsequent analysis of these three domains revealed the pervasiveness of a single theme across all three domains - that the psychosocial problem. Teachers characterized their students with attributes which they interpreted as psychosocial problems. The language teachers used to describe their students is similar to popular notions of the illiterate or semi-literate. They are culturally disadvantaged, psychosocially in need, and even psychologically underdeveloped.

The force of this characterization of the students become clear with subsequent analysis. The teachers interpreted many of these problems as barriers to learning. Furthermore, they described their teaching role as a "helping function", which was based on the belief that students needed assistance in overcoming these barriers in order to achieve the academic goals of the program. They also described their interventions and the social context of the classroom primarily in psychosocial terms. Thus, listening and talking with the students becomes a way of caring. Fostering student-student interactions is a way of developing a

sense of belonging and support. Allowing students to talk about their psychosocial concerns is a way of "getting it out of the way" so that learning can take place, and so on.

This study provides support for the power of language in shaping how we think about things and what we do. What if teachers were to think about their students in a different language? What if, as Hunter and Harman (1979) suggest, ABE students are not so much in need as they are disadvantaged with respect to certain of society's perceived benefits? It is possible that such a rethinking of what ABE students are like could lead to a reexamination of the whole issue of aim in adult basic education. What should teachers be about in these programs? Should they aim to help their students cope with and adjust to society or should they be seeking to contribute to the transformation of self and society?

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HOW PROGRAM DEVELOPERS MAKE DECISIONS IN PRACTICE

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Abstract

This study (1) describes the decision-making process of program developers in adult education, and (2) examines the contextual constraints which affect the practitioners' decisional process.

Statement of the Problem

Program developers in adult education are experiencing "theory-practice disjunction", they "break the rules of good practice and disregard theory for the real world practice (Brookfield, 1986, p. 202)." For example, program developers are having difficulty making direct application of current programming models in adult education because of (1) the prescriptive nature of models, (2) the sheer number of models, and (3) the absence of information concerning the institutional impact on practitioner's behavior (Pennington & Green, 1976; Sork & Buskey, 1986; Cervero, 1988; Burnham, 1988; and Kowalski, 1988).

Program developers do not practice in a laboratory where all conditions are controlled; they practice in settings that are influenced by personalities, varying expectations, competing goals, and fluctuating resources (Cervero, 1988). The effectiveness of adult education is judged according to various criterion framed by the setting (Cervero, 1988). The common denominator for studying the practice of program developers is the decision-making process. Decision-making holds the organization together and allows it to function (Bass, 1983).

Connecting the decision-making process to program administration is certainly not a new concept in the field of adult education. Knox (1982) explored the connection between the decision-making process of program administrators and the agencies within which they function. What is new about the connection between decision-making and program adminstration is the focus on "how" programming decisions are made by practitioners of adult education.

This study examined how the contextual setting of adult education affects the practice of program developers. The research questions addressed were: (1) how do program developers make decisions in practice? and (2) does the contextual setting of the practitioner affect practice?

Methodology

Because this study was concerned with describing the decision-making process of program developers across varying contextual sites, the inductive nature of the qualitative cross-

case analysis provided the necessary paradigmatic angle for viewing the research questions. A triangulated data collection method was necessary for capturing the essence of the decision-making process, a process which is often elusive at best (Schwenk, 1985). Data collection included: (1) interviewing; and (2) analysis of documents, this included requesting diaries of the decision-making of respondents, analysis of existing documents, and a critical incident case to be analyzed by the respondents.

Kowalski's (1988) typology for parent organizations of adult education provided the frame for the sampling selection process. Since Kowalski's (1988) underlying assumption is that contextual setting impacts behavior, use of this typology allowed for the simplification of studying the commonalities and differences in the decision-making process of practitioners across settings. This typology uses six categories for identifying sponsoring organizations of adult education which are (Kowalski, 1988, p.27):

Type A: Institutions which provide adult education as an exclusive function

Type B: Educational institutions which offer adult education as a secondary function

Type C: Community service agencies which provide adult education as a secondary function

Type D: Private organizations and agencies which provide adult education as a secondary function

Type E: Voluntary organizations and groups which provide adult education as a secondary function

Type F: Government agencies which provide adult education as a secondary function

Two comparable providers of adult education were identified from each of the six categories of the typology. This allowed for both the constant comparative analysis of program developers in comparable sites and across varying sites. The respondent pool was made up of program developers from a for-profit adult education provider, a technical school, a univerity setting (two practitioners from the same site), a hospital setting, a regional library, a bank's regional training center, a telecommunications organization, a voluntary organization, a religious organization, a medical correctional facility, and a state police academy. Seven of the respondents were female; five of the respondents were male. At least fifty percent of their professional time was spent in program development.

Results

The cross-case analysis of data revealed the emergence of two decisional categories: (1) optimizing strategy; and (2) satisficing strategy. The optimizing strategy encompassed a two-part repetoire of "reflective" vigilant decision-making and "selective" simplistic decision-making. The satisficing strategy encompasssed a two-part repetoire of "espoused" vigilant decision-making and "exclusive" simplistic decision-making. In addition, contextual constraints were identified which seem to encourage the decisional strategies of the respondents.

Respondents reported using either the optimizing strategy or the satisficing strategy but never both. (See Table I)

Some of the terms used were adapted from the works of Simon (1976), Schon (1983), and Janis (1989) in an attempt to provide definitional uniformity between the decision-making and adult education literature. Simon's (1976) use of the terms "optimizing" and "satisficing" have to do with decisional outcome but for purposes of this study, they have been adapted to define the decisional process.

Table I

DECISIONAL REPETOIRE STRATEGIES	Contextual Constraints
A.Optimizing Strategy:	
1. "Reflective" Vigilant Decision-Making	Low Cognitive
2. "Selective" Simplistic Decision-Making	High Affiliative Low Egocentric
B.Satisficing Strategy:	
1. "Espoused" Vigilant Decision-Making	High Cognitive
2. "Exclusive" Simplistic Decision-Making	Low Affiliative High Egocentric

Describing the Decision-Making Process. The respondents described using similar decisional processes which consisted of some type of "vigilant decision-making" and "simplistic decision-making". Although there appeared to be a connotative similarity in their definitions of decision-making, how they actually implemented the decisional strategies varied. Vigilant decision-making was commonly defined as the process of compiling evidence or research to make an adequate decision. This type of decision involved the long term planning of adult education, the implementation of new adult education programs, or the re-evaluation of current programs.

Simplistic decision-making was described by respondents as being mostly intuitive decisions that were made off the cuff or by the seat of the pants. This decisional process was used to make the "many little" or the "minute decisions" that allow for the application of the vigilant decision. These decisions took very little time and were often based on "women's intuition", "luck", or as a means to "circumvent the system". Simplistic decision-making left very little time for research, follow-up, and long-term reflection of the decisional outcome.

Although all respondents identified a decisional strategy which encompassed an essence of vigilant and simplistic decision-making how they chose to use them varied. Those describing an "optimizing decisional strategy" reported using a decisional strategy which consisted of "reflective vigilant decision-making" and "selective simplistic decision-making", while those using a "satisficing strategy" reported using "espoused vigilant decision-making" and "exclusive simplistic decision-making". Reflective vigilant decision-making involved an incubation period for the decision, concise organization of the problem, and strong formal and informal collaboration among

stakeholders of the decision. This type of strategy was used for long-term adult education decisions. Selective simplistic decision-making involved using this strategy for the "little" or day-to-day decisions that implement adult education at the site. The respondents who described using a "satisficing decisional strategy" which included the espoused vigilant and exclusive simplistic decision-making strategy described that although this choice was not the ideal strategy, it was an adequate strategy given the circumstance. Espoused vigilant decision-making was the acknowledgement that one should use a reflective vigilant decision-making approach for the more important adult education issues but in acutuality this usually was not done. The exclusive use of the simplistic decision-making style was chosen because it was faster, required little collaboration, and seemed to work better in the contextual setting. The respondents using these strategies reported that they felt it was not how they should be making decisions but it was how they did make them. This decisional strategy was considered "good enough" and got the decision made.

When asked to describe how decisions are made within their contextual setting, the respondents provided enlightening descriptors which became the critical code for understanding how the respondents not only made decisions but how the contextual setting might influence their behavior. Respondents who typically used the optimizing decisional strategy described decisions made in their organizations as "orderly and flexible", "comprehensive yet flexible", "crock pot and analytically", and "systematically and logical". Respondents who typically used the satisficing decisional strategy described decisions made in their organizations as "down and dirty", "logical-illogical", "helter-skelter scanning", and "intuitive-chaotic". Three observations surfaced from this data (1) the organizational decision-making descriptor appeared to match the individual decisional strategy of the respondent; (2) a two-part decisional strategy was almost always described which closely modeled vigilant and simplistic decision-making; and (3) the respondents identified contextual constraints which seemed to shape the course of both organizational and individual decision-making in their setting.

Contextual Setting Affects Decision-Making. The second part of the research question addressed how contextual setting affected the decision-making process of the respondents. Across settings, all respondents reported some form of contraints which could be group in three categories: cognitive constraints, affiliative contraints, and egocentric constraints. Cognitive constraints were external and internal factors that restricted cognitive input (Janis, 1989). This included time limitation, resources, physical setting of the practitioner's office. Affiliative constraints included the acculturation of the practitioner, the visibility of adult education in the mission of the organization, and the need for social acceptance in the organization which was usually done through collaboration and delegation. Egocentric constraints included level of expertise in both adult education and the organization which then impinged

on political savvy in the decision-making, gender expectation of the decision-maker and the individuals desire for decisional recognition.

As noted in Table I, respondents using the decisional strategy of "optimizing" decribed their contextual constraints as being low cognitive, high affiliative, and low egocentric. In these cases, low cognitive constraints meant that the respondents had plenty of time, resources, and privacy for decision-making. High affiliative constraints meant that the respondents used both informal and formal collaboration for the decision-making and that adult education was highly visible in the mission statement of the organization. Low egocentric contraints meant that the respondents described feelings of confidence in their expertise in adult education. They were not seeking individual recognition for the resulting decision. The respondents felt like team players in the organization.

Respondents reporting the use of the satisficing decisional strategy described their contextual constraints as being high cognitive, low affiliative, and high egocentric. In these cases high cognitive constraints were described as having a lack of time for decision-making, conflicting professional duties at that were at odds with the program developing component of their job, lack of funds, and offices that were not conducive to reflective decision-making. Low affiliative constraints were explained as not feeling acculturated into the organization, low visibility of adult education in the mission of the organization, and a sense that collaborating on decisions was not worthwhile. High egocentric constraints were described as feelings of high ownership of the adult education unit by the respondent combined with wanting to make the most profit or have the best ratings.

Patterns Across Contextual Settings. In order to view the emerging patterns of decision-making and contextual constraints across settings more efficiently, consideration of what Kowalski (1988) calls classification variables and options of settings is useful. They are ownership (private, public, volunteer), motive (profit, nonprofit), program purpose (needs of society, needs of individual, needs of parent company) and organization purpose (producing goods, producing services).

Respondents who chose the "optimizing" decisional strategy tended to practice in settings that were (1) public, nonprofit and focused on the individual; (2) private, profit and focused on the individual. Respondents who chose the "satisificng" decisional strategy tended to practice in settings that were (1) private, profit, and focused on the parent company; (2) private, profit, and focused on services; (3) public, nonprofit and focused on society.

Maybe the competitive or collaborative goals of the respondent/organization are an explanation. Satisficing was most often used by respondents who were greatly concerned with the issues of profitability, high ratings, high personal recognition for outcome and tended to report having low job satifaction. Optimizing was most often used by respondents who were greatly concerned with meeting the needs of the adult education learner,

maintaining a service image for their organization, had less concern for profit, rating, and personal recognition and tended to report having high job satisfaction.

Conclusions, Implications, and Recommendations

The findings of this study provide (1) theoretical underpinnings for the decision-making process of program developers in practice; (2) an essential link between theory and practice; (3) a further collaboration between the fields of adult education and organization theory; and (4) a stronger base for understanding the practice of program developers.

The major findings of this study suggest that program developers use a decisional repetoire strategy of either "optimizing" (reflective vigilant decision-making and selective simplistic decision-making) or "satisficing" (espoused vigilant decision-making and exclusive simplistic decision-making) that appear to be on opposite ends of a continuum. In addition, contextual constraints (cognitive, affiliative, and egocentric) played a major role in the choice of the decisional repetoire strategy used by the practitioner.

A recommendation for further research would be to examine if choice of decisional strategy (optimizing/satisficing) acts as a determinant of outcome in the design and implementation of adult education.

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A REVISED MODEL OF INTERDEPENDENCE OF PROVIDERS OF CONTINUING PROFESSIONAL EDUCATION

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ABSTRACT: A case study was conducted to test the viability of a model proposed by Cervero and Young to describe the interdependence of providers of continuing professional education. An analysis of the data gathered required both the modification and expansion of that framework, as well as the questioning of its predictive capabilities.

Statement of the Problem

This study was undertaken to explore the types and nature of, and the rationale for, the various relationships which exist between and among providers of continuing professional education (CPE). Positive relationships among institutions, usually described in such terms as cooperation or collaboration, have been valued positively and encouraged in the CPE literature related to the interdependence of providers. However, there is little existing research to substantiate these positions.

Several writers have developed models to explain and describe the relationships which do or might exist among providers. Beder (1978, 1984) proposed an environmental interaction model for agency development. Schermerhorn (1975) listed motivators and determinants which affect the interdependent relationships existing among institutions. Cervero and Young (1987) have drawn upon Schermerhorn and others to propose a two-dimensional model of institutional interdependence. All of these models are based upon reviews of the sociological literature on institutions.

The investigation reported in this paper tested the theoretical framework of interdependence which Cervero and Young (1987) have proposed. Their framework is a matrix consisting of two parameters. One parameter, drawn from Schermerhorn (1975), is composed of three motivators (resource scarcity, cooperation seen as a positive value, and extra-organizational force) and three determinants (boundary permeability, shared organizational goals, and opportunities for cooperation). These environmental factors influence the mode of interdependence existing between or among institutional providers.

The second parameter of the Cervero-Young model, made up of types of relationships, is arrayed on a continuum. The concept of a continuum reflecting the degree of interdependence or "organizational formality" (Litwak & Rothman, 1970, p. 145) was apparently first suggested by Litwak and Hylton (1962). As suggested by Cervero and Young (1987), this continuum includes six different relationships which might exist between providers of CPE: monopoly, parallelism, competition, cooperation, coordination, and collaboration. They hypothesized that institutions, as they were influenced by the various motivators and determinants arrayed along the one axis, would move along the other axis from more independent to more interdependent relationships.

Research Methodology

A case study of three seminaries of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America (ELCA)--Luther Northwestern Theological Seminary, St. Paul, MN; Lutheran School of Theology, Chicago, IL; and Wartburg Theological Seminary, Dubuque, IA--was conducted to test the viability of this framework. The multiple-case, holistic design described by Yin (1984) was chosen as the apparoach most consonant with the purpose of the study. This design, sometimes called "comparative," allowed for literal replication within the study and for comparison across studies. A complete description of the methodology, as well as the "intensive, thick descriiption and interpretation of the phenomenon so that the reader understands the 'slice of life' . . . investigated" (Merriam, 1985, p. 207), has been reported elsewhere (Ferro, 1988, 1989).

Data Collection and Analysis

Visits were made to each of the seminaries to collect data through interviews with persons involved in CPE and the gathering of pertinent documents. Following the visits, case study drafts were prepared for each site, submitted to informants, and revised. These drafts were composed of three parts: description, observation and analysis, and conclusions. After the data from each site were analyzed individually, and the analysis was confirmed, a cross-site analysis was performed. This led to the development of an objectifying instrument which was sent to persons at the five other ELCA seminaries with responsibilities similar to those performed by the original informants. The data collected from this survey, which basically confirmed the conclusions drawn from previous analyses, were also included in drawing the general conclusions for the study.

Conclusions and Discussion

1. Each of the seminaries exhibited all, not just one, of the levels of interdependence arrayed along the continuum descriptive of the various relationships which might exist between providers in the provision of CPE (i.e., monopoly, parallelism, competition, cooperation, coordination, and collaboration). Which level or type was most prevalent at any particular time depended on several factors to be described shortly.

2. All of the motivators and determinants proposed by Schermerhorn (1975) were present and necessary in helping understand the various relationships which existed. Each of the seminaries has been influenced in various ways by these environmental factors toward the different interdependent relationships in which they are involved. While all of these factors were present and influential, there was no evidence that motivators could be distinguished from determinants. All operated as factors in the environment which provided telling impact on the seminaries' various relationships.

3. Additional enviornmental factors were also discovered which influenced the seminaries' external relationships: geographic location of the relating institutions, influence of church-wide mergers, institutional history, organizational structures of the seminary and national church, personality and authority of the continuing education director, and the role of alumni and alumnae. Although a case could be made that these additional factors might fall within the parameters suggested by Schermerhorn (1975), they were sufficiently prominent in the analysis to warrant separate listing along with the posited motivators and determinants.

4. The actual institution to which a seminary relates at any given time and in any given situtation influences the mode or level of relationship. In like manner, the environmental factors which influence the various interdependent relationships vary according to which other institution is involved in the relationship.

5. All levels of interdependence suggested by Cervero and Young (1987) and all environmental factors proposed by Schermerhorn (1975), then, are present in the findings of this investigation. However, the hypothesis that the accumulation of motivators and determinants would, as a result, move an institution away from the levels of monopoly, parallelism, and competition and toward the levels of cooperation, coordination, and collaboration did not hold. In fact, as stated in conclusion #1 above, none of the seminaries could be described as existing in any one mode or at a specific level of interdependence. Rather, as indicated in conclusion #4, the mode or level of relationship present at any given time depended upon the particular other institution involved in that relationship.

6. Therefore, the proposed theoretical framework cannot be used to predict the modes or levels of interdependent relationships into which institutions might enter based solely on the presence of a significant number of envionrmental factors. Rather it serves much better as a descriptive tool for the purpose of analysis, evaluation, and program planning. The model or framework is neutral; it does not dictate or require any particular attitude or disposition toward or against any type or form of interdependent relationship. Rather, it helps clarify the nature of, and reasons for, the various relationships which do exist.

7. Furthermore, to fully account for the data and their analyses, the Schermerhorn/Cervero and Young model must be expanded. First, the list of environmental factors (motivators and determinants) must be increased to include the

six additional factors enumerated in conclusion #3 above.

8. Second, a third parameter, a list of categories of institutions to which each seminary relates, needs to be added. As the data were being collected and analyzed, it soon became evident that each of the seminaries related in important ways to certain other institutions and that certain environmental factors came into play with each of these other institutions. Consequently, each interdependent relationship must be described or denoted by three parameters: the influencing environmental factors, the specific interdependent institution, and the nature of that interdependence. The categories of institutions to which these seminaries do, or might, relate are: sister seminaries in the ELCA, other seminaries, Lutheran colleges and universities, other colleges and universities, boards and agencies of the ELCA, regional and geographic units of the ELCA, Continuing Theological Education Centers, other affiliated agencies, and agencies not affiliated with the ELCA.

This third parameter becomes necessary. To merely identify the nature of the relationship or relationships into which a semninary enters and which it continues to foster is insufficient. The level of interdependence and the specific institution to which the seminary relates are inseparable. As has become patently evident, the mode or level of relationship varies depending on the institution. It is also evident that the environmental factors are institutionally related and vary with each interdependent relationship. Thus the type of institution becomes a key element or parameter in analyzing both the mode of interdependence and the factors influencing a particular level of relationship.

The result, then, is a three-dimensional rather than a two-dimensional model which can be used for determining the nature and extent of relationships existing between the seminaries, as providers of CPE for clergy, and other institutions. They are: 1) a continuum or sequence along which the possible modes or levels of interdependence with other institutions are arranged from least to greatest involvement; 2) the listing of environmental factors which influence the differing interdependent relationships in which each seminary is involved, now expanded to 12 items; and 3) the categories of institutions with which the seminaries, as providers of CPE, experience one or more of the interdependent relationships enumerated along the first parameter.

The value of this three-dimensional model is that it leads to greater specificity and understanding than did the original one. The research revealed that the seminaries have experienced, or do experience, all six levels of interdependent relationships. Even being able to say why (drawing on the list of motivators and determinants) these various relationships exist does not provide enough helpful informaiton for any truly useful purpose. The resulting analysis is still too general. It is necessary to say what type of relationship has existed, or does exist, with which institution for what reason before sufficient data are made available for positive and constructive use. The addition of the third parameter leads to better understanding.

An illustration clarifies this analysis and discussion. The current status is that each seminary has been paired with one other because of the way the new national church has organized pre-ordination and continuing education. Each of these pairs work together in cooperative, coordinating, and collaborative ways, within defined geographic boundaries and with specific Continuing Theological Education Centers, to provide such education. At the same time, each pair of seminaries has a parallel relationship with each other pair of seminaries because of these same restrictions placed on them by the ELCA. However, before the formation of the present national church body, the relationships were more competitive. Before they were restricted to specific geographic boundaries, several of the seminaries attempted to reach the same or similar audiences with the same or similar programs.

This study also suggests that the possibility of another parameter is present, namely, the strength or intensity of each of the environmental factors in influencing the level and extent of each interdependent relationship. The pressures toward various modes of interdependence which are exerted by different environmental factors also vary by institution. For example, national church mandates provide a powerful impetus toward cooperative, coordinating, and collaborative relationships with one other seminary, a specific geographic region, and certain Continuing Theological Education Centers. These same mandates likewise establish parallelism as the mode of relationship between pairs of seminaries. On the other hand, the need to gain external resources or to protect or redirect internal resources, while a present and real factor, did not appear to be a strong influence toward any level of interdependence with any particular institution.

What is the utility of such a three-dimensional model? It provides the opportunity for decision makters to better understand where they are, decide where they want to be, and plan proactively to reach those goals with a fuller understanding and appreciation for the nature of the forces which control, influence, and impel their interdependent relationships. More specifically, such a model can help seminaries understand what kind of relationships have existed and do exist--and why they exist. They can better understand what might happen if they consciously undertake differing relationships with certain other institutions--what might be the impelling forces, the restricting pressures, and the possible outcomes of such new undertakings. They can appreciate what might be the best mode (or modes) of relationship for them to establish with each category of institution because they will better understand the environmental factors involved and the nature, maybe even the value, of each type of possible relationship.

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Environmental Adult Learning

Matthias FINGER & Roger HIEMSTRA

ABSTRACT: This paper analyzes the 786 questionnaires which have been collected to date. It concentrates on an analysis of the learning content of these activities, the main motivations for environmental adult learning, the key learning experiences, as well as the main purposes for any environmental adult learning. We also propose a typology of environmental adult learners and conclude by looking at the ways and means of environmental adult learning.

The environment and ecological issues increasingly become topics for adult education programs. For example, governments are beginning to plan environmental education programs as a means for changing the everyday environmental behavior of citizens. Green grass-roots movements and consumer awareness efforts are utilizing adult education techniques. More recently, the media has entered the picture and is promoting an awareness of environmental issues. As a consequence, many adults are acquiring significant environmental knowledge, competence, and consciousness.

Before setting up a nationwide program for environmental adult education, the Swiss government sponsored a large study to provide a better understanding of environmental adult learning among Swiss citizens. On the basis of preliminary qualitative research, i.e., a life history method applied to seven persons who had learned about ecology and the environment in totally different ways (Finger, 1989), a questionnaire (115 questions) was developed and distributed to 3000 adults who had engaged in one or more environmental learning activities in 1988.

Learning Content

In the life history approach five types of relevant environmental knowledge were identified (Finger, 1989): (a) self-help or everyday knowledge, (b) technical knowledge, (c) journalistic knowledge, (d) movement knowledge, and (d) botanical knowledge. For all of these five types of knowledge corresponding questions were derived, taking into account where and how this knowledge could be learned. An analysis of the questionnaire data in terms of quantifying the type of knowledge possessed among adults engaging in environmental learning, revealed the following hierarchy:

Self-help or everyday knowledge (ecologically conscious household, recycling, organic gardening, etc.)	32.5%
Technical knowledge (saving energy, insulation, alternative energy sources, etc.)	19.1%
Journalistic knowledge (environmental toxins, radioactivity, etc.)	18.3%
Movement knowledge (state of the environment, pollution, etc.)	17.0%
Botanical knowledge (beauty of nature, etc.)	13.0%

This distribution provides some indication of the quantitative importance of this type of knowledge among environmental adult learners. It does not, however, provide ideas about the relative importance of this knowledge for specific types of environmental adult learners.

Matthias Finger is Visiting Assistant Professor and Roger Hiemstra is Professor, Adult Education, Syracuse University, Syracuse NY. Matthias Finger gathered the data in Switzerland and Roger Hiemstra became involved as a consultant to help derive North American implications. Both currently are involved in gathering comparable data from United States citizens.

Motivations for Environmental Adult Learning

In the life history study, five different types of motivation were identified, including responsibility, social change, personal health, consternation, and "voluntary simplicity." In the current study, some related questions were derived. An analysis of the level of agreement provided the following percentages.

"The limits of the environment's carrying capacity have been reached, if not breached. It is my responsibility to commit myself to the conservation of the source of life, and to save what still can be saved." (**responsibility**) 33.0% (577)

"I feel that something must be changed in the relationship between society and nature. That is why, before all, I want to contribute to the transformation of society." (**social change**) 21.5% (377)

"I am deeply concerned if my local and global environments are radically altered (for example though building), since I feel a personal relationship with them." (**consternation**) 19.0% (332)

"I want to impact as little as possible on my environment. I feel best with a simple life-style." (**voluntary simplicity**) 17.7% (310)

"I care about my own health. I commit myself to a healthy environment because if it is destroyed my health is damaged." (**personal health**) 8.8% (154)

These five types also can be qualitatively separated into two categories, i.e., motivation for social change and purely individual motivation. A factor analysis actually appears to confirm this qualitative distinction. One factor (social motivations, including social change and responsibility), emerges and accounts for 24% of the variance.

Key Learning Experiences

Because of a low degree of institutionalization, environmental adult learning draws heavily on learning and life experiences. Indeed, in the life history approach 26 different kinds of experiences involved in the environmental adult learners' formative processes were identified. A factor analysis of the current data distinguished eight types of experiences:

Factor #1: **Environmental catastrophes** (16.1% of the overall variance explained)
- Amoco Cadiz (1978)
- Three Mile Island (1979)
- Seveso (1982)
- Bhopal (1984)
- Chernobyl (1986)
- Sandoz - Schweizerhalle (chemical pollution of the Rhine, 1986)
- Dying forests
- North Sea - death of the seals (1988)
- Exxon Valdez (1989)

Factor #2: **Voyages and travelling** (6.4%)
- "Foreign cultures with which I came into contact"
- "Voyages to the Third World, where I became aware how advanced the destruction already was"
- "Contact with cultures that still live in harmony with their environment"

Factor #3: **Nature experiences** (5.7%)
"Nature experiences in childhood"
"Nature experiences alone"
"Nature experiences with friends, in a group, with children"

Factor #4: **Activism and commitment** (5.2%)
"Commitment in an environmental grassroots group"
"Activities in an association committed to the protection of the environment"

Factor #5: **Experiences of fear and anxiety** (4.9%)
"Fear of big technologies and their dangers (e.g., nuclear power plants)"
"Illnesses of my children or myself resulting from pollution"
"The rampaging pollution of water, air, and soil threatening health and life"

Factor #6: **Living in nature** (4.7%)
"Living in the countryside (good air, peace, etc.)"
"Growing up in the countryside/on a farm"

Factor #7: **Inner values formation** (4.2%)
"Contact with other world views and values"
"Spiritual experiences in nature"

Factor #8: **Educational experiences** (4.0%)
"Learning activities that made me aware of my connectedness with the environment"
"A learning experience which has made me aware of the environmental problems"

Environmental catastrophes appear to have impacted most on the motivation for learning, i.e., on the average three to four times more than any other type of experience. This is confirmed when assessing the quantitative importance of these eight types.

Environmental catastrophes	20.5% (664)
Experiences of fear and anxiety	18.5% (599)
Living in nature	17.3% (561)
Nature experiences	16.9% (546)
Activism and commitment	9.3% (301)
Inner values formation	6.5% (211)
Voyages and travelling	6.2% (202)
Educational experiences	4.7% (152)

In both ways of calculating (factor analysis or the levels of agreement among multiple responses), educational experiences appear to be least important. However, as we will show later, it is premature to conclude that education is not important in the environmental adult learning process.

Nevertheless, it appears that "negative learning experiences" are by far more important learning activities than other, more positive ones. Indeed, environmental adult learners seem stricken by environmental catastrophes and other experiences of fear and anxiety. This and other similar observations make us believe that we measured sensitization to environmental issues and problems, but not the environmental learning process itself. This however does not do away with the question of what a sensitization through catastrophes, fear, and anxiety actually leads to in terms of an individual environmental learning process, nor what this requires in terms of an organized environmental learning activity. The following section partially answers these questions.

The Purposes of Environmental Adult Learning

In the life history study six purposes of environmental adult learning were identified. Related questions were derived for the current study. An analysis of multiple responses to questions seeking to ascertain the level of agreement resulted in the following:

"Environmental knowledge helps me to behave in an environmentally sound way"	28.2% (578)
"Environmental knowledge helps me to live consciously and to understand my complex environment"	24.7% (507)
"Environmental knowledge gives me a certain competence"	15.4% (316)
"Environmental knowledge gives me arguments by which to defend my personal positions"	13.1% (268)
"Environmental knowledge gives me an overview of what I must face in the future and the corresponding psychological security"	12.6% (258)
"Environmental knowledge helps me to defend my rights and convictions when confronting others"	6.0% (124)

On the basis of these six categories a typology identified two types of environmental adult learners. The first is a learner whose main purpose is a certain overview of environmental problems and issues, a basic understanding of the complex environment, and learning how to live consciously within it; we have labeled this type "consciousness learning." A second type of environmental adult learner looks for arguments and competency, leading to a more active form of commitment, i.e., defending a personal point of view or right; we labeled this type "competence learning." Both types share the aim of wanting to learn to live in an environmentally sound way. Quantitatively, their distribution is as follows:

Type #1:	**Consciousness learning**	62.8% (496)
Type #2:	**Competence learning**	37.2% (292)

Typology of Environmental Adult Learners

In general, the people who answered the survey are very similar in many ways. For example, there was very little variance among the variables. However, compared to the Swiss population, all the respondents are rather untypical. Not only is the age group between 30 and 50 years old highly over represented among the sample, but also so are those reporting teaching and other social professions. Moreover, the people in the sample have an exceptionally high educational background. For example, 24% of them had an University background as opposed to only 6.5% in the average Swiss population. Unfortunately, the data do not permit a detailed comparison with all Swiss people.

In the above section we have identified two types of environmental adult learners according to the different purposes they see in their learning. The distinction between "consciousness learning" and "competence learning" is in fact the only significant typology we are able to statistically identify. Let us briefly characterize these two types in regards to their motivations for environmental adult learning, key experiences, and the contents of the learning activities. The following figures indicate the percentage of environmental adult learners for

each of the variables. Only differences of more than 5% from the average type will be considered for this characterization.

	Consciousness learning 62.8%	Competence learning 37.2%
Motivation: Personal health	68.8%	
Motivation: Voluntary simplicity	67.7%	
Learning experiences: inner values formation	67.8%	
Environmental knowledge: botanical knowledge	67.3%	
Motivation: Social change		44.3%
Learning experiences: activism and commitment		50.2%
Environmental knowledge: technical knowledge		42.7%
Environmental knowledge: journalistic knowledge		43.2%
Environmental knowledge: movement knowledge		42.5%

It appears that the "consciousness learner" is mainly motivated by personal reasons (for example, personal health); this person learns from experiences that relate to self (e.g., spiritual experiences, see factor #7), and seeks knowledge about the complexity of nature (botanical knowledge). The "competence learner" instead is motivated by social change, draws on experiences in a personal commitment, and seeks a type of knowledge that is particularly useful for social change and activism. Among the respondents, this latter type is clearly a minority, and likely is the "active" environmental adult learner.

Ways and Means of Environmental Adult Learning

Already the life history study had led to a distinction between environmental sensitization and environmental learning. An analysis of the level of importance through questions derived for these categories appears to show five significant ways to become sensitized to environmental issues and problems. These are in the order of importance:

"In my education, my professional activity, or my engagement in the community, I am constantly confronted with environmental problems and issues, which I cannot ignore."	32.8% (302)
"I have been sensitized to environmental issues and problems mainly through the media."	29.9% (275)
"Among my friends environmental issues and problems are constantly discussed. It is impossible for me to escape them."	19.3% (178)
"The close relation to a person who was already sensitized to environmental problems has actually alerted me."	9.0% (83)
"Learning activities (seminars, conferences, courses, symposia, etc.) have made me aware of the importance and extent of threats to the environment."	8.9% (82)

Again, a rather "negative" way of becoming sensitized to environmental issues clearly appears: adults become sensitized once they cannot escape the evidence anymore. It is therefore logical that organized learning activities like seminars, courses, etc., where one participates via personal will, are by far less important as a tool of sensitization. Sensitization, however, is not yet learning. The following table indicates ways and means environmental

adult learners report they actually have learned. One can see, for example, that organized environmental learning activities are important in this perspective, whereas they are negligible for sensitization. A future analysis will, for example, have to show how learning is related to sensitization.

Learning in organized learning activities	26.3% (367)
Learning through individual research	26.3% (366)
Learning through commitment to groups and organizations	24.3% (339)
Learning from the media	10.9% (152)
Learning through contact with a significant person	6.2% (86)
Learning through systematic environmental education	6.0% (83)

It is important to make a distinction between sensitization and learning. If sensitization happens mainly in a passive way, learning is much more active, such as participation in organized learning activities, doing individual research, and becoming committed to the environment. However, both types of environmental adult learners are not equally active. In fact, it is the "competence learner" who is the most active environmental adult learner through a commitment to environmental groups and organizations, individual research, and systematic environmental education.

We have statistically verified that the difference between the two types is not due to socialization, age, or any other sociological variable. As we have shown, there are some differences instead in regards to the type of knowledge they learn, their motivation, their sensitization, and their specific learning activities. A further analysis would have to look in more detail at what concrete learning activities both types actually use. In any case, for both types a significant part of environmental adult learning has occurred before more formal learning activities enter the picture, i.e., the part we have called sensitization. Therefore, environmental adult education programs should not sensitize or initiate environmental adult learners to environmental issues and problems, but help the ones who are already sensitized to deal with their "negative learning experiences." And this is, in fact, an approach to learning with which many adult educators already are familiar.

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Comparative Analysis of Barriers to Participation in Rural Adult Education Programs

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Abstract: The literature that focuses on the concept of adult learning participation patterns is often treated as context free. This study suggests that deterrents to participation by adult learners are impacted by the context and relativity of the rural environment.

INTRODUCTION

Rural America has been characterized by "an agriculture tradition, sparse population, isolation, and the presence of small, loosely knit communities" Barker, 1985, p.5). Since 1979, rural America has been experiencing an ongoing "crisis" and the people who reside in these rural communities have been adversely impacted by the involuntary socio-cultural, employability, and personal adjustment changes in their environment. The utility and efficacy of adult education programs as tools in addressing the "crisis" has become readily apparent in grainbelt America. Life in the agripolitan countryside has become more complex and interconnecting and as a result continuing learning has become a must for both occupational and personal adjustment. However, the very nature of rural America seems to create barriers to successfully meeting the educational needs of rural adults.

It has been suggested that rural should be considered a subculture within a larger society (DeYoung, 1987; Van Tilburg & Moore, 1989). As such, the educational concerns and issues within the rural subculture should be studied from the perspective that rural individuals are unique in that they share common characteristics, values, qualities, and life experiences. While a growing body of literature has emerged concerning rural adult education (ie. Barker, 1985; McCannon, 1985; Treadway, 1984; Hesser, Spears, & Maes, 1988), a gap exists that illuminates the construct of barriers to participation for rural adult learners. A number of studies have been conducted that attempted to identify meaningful source variables and factors related to deterrents to participation (ie. Darkenwald & Valentine, 1985) for the general public.

As part of an overall study of a typically impacted rural area, the concern of adult education intervention and the factors affecting current program outreach became paramount, particularly the issue of participation. The purpose of this study was to examine the factors that governed deterrents to participation for adult learners within the rural community and to compare the findings to those generated by Darkenwald and Valentine (1985).

SETTING

The setting for this study was in the region of northwest Missouri abutting Iowa on the north and both Kansas and Nebraska on the west that has been particularly hard hit by the interaction of financial, social and demographic forces in the past decade. In this region, farm bankruptcies have increased from 115 in 1981 to nearly 600 by 1990. The known suicide rate among Missouri farmers has risen 30% in two years and the hospitalization for mental illness and substance abuse has increased by 57.8% in the rural areas

as compared to 18.2% in the metropolitan areas of the state.

The specific region is 77.5% rural and 98.5% white. Twenty percent of the farmers in the area are delinquent on their real estate loans and 16% on their operating loans. There has been a 11.7% decline in farm operations in the past three years where the primary occupation of the resident is farmer. However, the farmer is not the only one in trouble. Businesses and industries selling to agriculture suffered a 20% decline in sales. These are small organizations with 94% employing less than twenty people. Four area banks closed in October and November of 1986 and six more failed in 1987. Fifteen percent of the population in 1985 was below the official poverty line with the number continuing to grow through present day.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The conceptual frameworks related to adult learning participation patterns are often treated as context free. Yet sociological, political science, and psychological theory all clearly point to contextual variables as major determinants of both social and individual choice. The unique characteristics of rurality as a traditional society reinforce the importance of context as an intervening variable in the study of participation patterns, particularly the relative weight given various barriers or deterrents. Participation studies that are highly context specific (ie. rural adult learners) run a risk of applying the findings to the general population. Therefore, the conduction of studies concerned with participation and the reporting of participation patterns should incorporate the factors of contextuality and relativity before suggesting the generalizability of the findings.

METHODOLOGY

This study combined two highly rated methodologies of needs assessment, the key informant approach and the general population survey. The intent was to capitalize on the strengths of each and at the same time compensate for the weaknesses inherent in both.

Population

Respondents in this study were drawn from persons who attended one of nine workshops entitled "Neighbor Helping Neighbor" held throughout a seven county target area. One hundred and forty-seven names and addresses were collected at meeting registrations. From this list those with unverifiable addresses and those associated in any capacity with the sponsors (university extension service, community health center, and an area vocational/technical school) were dropped, leaving a population of 104. The age distribution of the study's population was evenly split, with nearly 50% above and below 40 years of age. Thirty-two percent of the respondents had some college credit, 17.6% held a baccalaureate degree, and 20.3% held graduate degrees. Occupations of the respondents included business (17.6%), farmer (17.6%), retired (6.8%), clerical (8.1%), teacher/educator (10.8%), homemaker (13.5%), social services (8.1%), and medical (2.7%).

The population involved was not only a self-selected group, many were specifically invited because they were representative of and/or held leadership in core community systems of organizations. They came already knowledgeable about community problems and involved in various activities designed to meet them. Thus they met almost exactly the definition of "key

informant" in the professional needs assessment literature.

Instrumentation

A thirty-one item instrument with sections on community processes, social service issues, and adult education was mailed to each of the 104 subjects. Unstructured comments were specifically invited and urged. The adult education section on the instrument contained questions that related to preferred adult learning methodology, location, subject matter, and a list of 19 reasons or barriers that may deter participation in adult education offerings. Seventy-four usable returns were obtained for a satisfactory response rate of 71.15%.

Data Analysis

Initially the 19 barriers were categorized into situational, institutional, and dispositional (Cross, 1981) and the means and rank order calculated using descriptive statistics. Barriers were then analyzed using the six category structure proposed by Darkenwald and Valentine's (1985) Deterrents to Participation Scale (DPS-G): Lack of Confidence, Lack of Course Relevance, Time Constraints, Low Personal Priority, Cost, and Personal Problems. A comparison was made of item means and rank order between the two sets of data. A Spearman rho procedure was used to determine the correlation between factor scores and the sociodemographic characteristics.

FINDINGS

Considering the economic conditions and other contextual factors associated with the rural area, it was not surprising that the data revealed cost and time constraints as being the paramount deterrents to participation. As Table 1 reveals, cost of tuition and books ($\bar{x}$=4.17) as well as job responsibilities interfere (loss of pay) ($\bar{x}$=3.72) were the primary deterrents to participation. The third, fifth, sixth, and eighth barriers fell within the category of **time constraints**. This included reasons such as the time required to finish course ($\bar{x}$=3.32), no study time available ($\bar{x}$=3.00), time of day course was offered ($\bar{x}$=2.84), and full-time study required ($\bar{x}$=2.47). The fourth barrier, because of personal responsibilities ($\bar{x}$=3.18), was incorporated in the **personal situation** category. This barrier, however, may reflect a close relationship to the category of time or the lack of it as a result of burdening responsibilities associated with family and work. Four of the first five deterrents identified are situational in nature and closely tied to the rural context and conditions of this economically depressed area. Two commonly reported situations of rurality, the lack of child care ($\bar{x}$=1.29) and transportation services ($\bar{x}$=1.29), showed to be of little importance to rural adult learners.

Darkenwald and Valentine (1985) found that the respondents in their study assigned greater importance to the factor of **time constraints** than to any other. Mean scores were rather moderate for the category of **cost**. Respondents in their study were highly educated and affluent and as a result were not confronted with the same motivational or financial concerns associated with individuals residing in an economically depressed area. In this study, as well as in Darkenwald and Valentine's, moderate to low importance was given to the other variables within the six categories. Overall, the context of rurality and the urgency of economic conditions may be the controlling factors

Table 1
Item Means and Scale Ranks for Factors and DPS-G Counterparts

Variable	Item Mean	Rank
(Lack of Confidence)		
Because I am too old to go to school.	2.68	7
Because of past low grades in school.	1.18	17
Because of objections from family/friends.	1.05	19
(Lack of Course Relevance)		
Because courses I needed were not offered.	2.27	9
Because I don't know what would be appropriate subjects.	1.87	10.5 (tie)
Because of too much red tape.	1.15	16
(Time Constraints)		
Because of time required to finish course.	3.32	3
Because no study time available.	3.00	5
Because time of day the course was offered.	2.84	6
Because full-time study required.	2.47	8
Because of attendance requirements.	1.08	18
(Low Personal Priority)		
Because I don't enjoy studying.	1.87	10.5 (tie)
Because information about course was not made easily available.	1.29	14 (tie)
(Cost)		
Because of tuition and books.	4.17	1
Because of job responsibilities interfere (loss of pay).	3.72	2
Because of transportation costs.	1.29	14 (tie)
(Personal Situation)		
Because of personal responsibilities.	3.18	4
Because no energy left.	1.35	12
Because of child care availability.	1.29	14 (tie)

in the identification of deterrents, both in terms of cost and time required to complete an educational program and the anticipated utility of the outcomes.

The sociodemographic variables chosen for analysis were those used by Darkenwald and Valentine, with the exception of income level (see Table 2). The income level was not used in this study for two reasons: 1) with the economic privation that was so central to the issue that occasioned the study, sensitivity on this subject would have been a response barrier; 2) the respondents based on other data sources were relatively homogeneous and the variance in this variable, had it been targeted, would probably have been negligible.

Table 2
Correlations Between Factor Scores and Sociodemographic Variables

Sociodemographic Variables	Factor 1 Confidence	Factor 2 Relevance	Factor 3 Time	Factor 4 Priority	Factor 5 Cost	Factor 6 Problems
Sex	.064	.022	.152	.130	-.333**	-.397**
Age	-.048	.197	-.142	.061	-.208*	-.264*
Education	.157	-.006	.025	-.217	-.234*	-.048
Occupation	-.373**	-.417**	-.026	-.029	.560***	.556***

* p< .05
** p< .01
*** p< .001

Significant negative correlations between **sex** and **cost** and **personal problems** were as anticipated. In a traditional agrarian society women have both fewer financial resources and greater responsibility for child rearing and family responsibilities which are the controlling items in this scale. By contract, the other two sub-items, energy and red tape, were most strongly associated with men.

Age correlations were also in the direction hypothesized and are consistent with prevailing data in the adult education field. The younger the respondent the more likely that family responsibilities and the cost of tuition and books are significant deterrents to participation in an educational program.

The dominant variable, as expected, was **cost** of education. The high positive correlation between **occupational** level and this factor was not anticipated. Perhaps the educational programs which would be beneficial for those at the higher work skill levels are also those that require the greatest investment of time and money to complete. By contrast, the negative relationship between the **confidence** and **relevance** factors and **occupational** level is consistent with the overall picture of persons with less education and monetary resources also being those for whom attitudinal barriers are most significant.

As noted above, **personal problems** as a factor is relatively **age** and **sex** specific with this population. Family and child rearing also appear to affect educational program utilization more as occupational skill level increases. The are several hypotheses that should be considered here. The majority of respondents in the total survey were women, many of them entering and/or re-entering the work force because of the economic conditions in the region and, as noted above, this factor is particularly gender sensitive. Also, although many of these women were already in semi-skilled or sub-professional job categories, the cost and commitment required for programs that would, realistically, provide them with occupational advancement are viewed as both economically costly and personal/family disruptive. This may well be a valid observation on their part because professionally oriented courses, particularly those associated with advanced degrees, are offered with the assumption that the learner is a full-time resident student with few, if any, other obligations. Finally, for those with less skill, the less expensive and more easily accessible programs provided through area vocational-technical schools are viable means of occupational retooling in a suddenly changing economy. The technology oriented content is packaged in smaller and more easily attainable units than professional and/or general academic programs.

CONCLUSIONS

The differing findings of these two studies would suggest that deterrents to participation may be highly context specific and relative to the subpopulation in question, in this case rural adult learners. In this study, cost and time constraints were the two primary deterrents to participation. A significant relationship exists between these factors and the economic malaise that characterizes the rural environment. While adult education opportunities are being offered in rural America they are not reaching the intended audience. The findings suggest that developing and providing educational services in the "business as usual" manner will not be appropriate or effective. Adult education has long been an integral component in the rural development process. However, it needs to reevaluate its position if it is to regain a central role in addressing the educational concerns of rural adult learners confronted with economic and social dislocation. In terms of practice implications, the current crisis environment may require an adjustment in educational content, methodology, marketing, and delivery systems.

A final conclusion merits mention. This study does not question the validity and utility of the DPS-G developed by Darkenwald and Valentine, but provides an encouragement to its use in measuring deterrents to participation within context specific subpopulations. The DPS-G holds great promise for enhancing the knowledge base related to building theory as well as for improving professional practice in the areas of market analysis and program planning.

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PERCEIVED CONTROL AND THE DECISION-MAKING PROCESS TO PARTICIPATE IN ADULT EDUCATION: AN EXPLICATION OF RUBENSON's RECRUITMENT PARADIGM

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Abstract: The purpose of this paper is to explore the relationship of the intervening and intermediate factors of Rubenson's (1987) expectancy-valence paradigm of recruitment in adult education. More specifically, an explanation will be outlined that describes the intermediate level decision making process using the concept of control.

While participation in adult education has been one of the few relatively well researched areas boasting a number of proposed models, little work has been done to explicate and validate these models. This is particularly true of Rubenson's (1987) recruitment paradigm which holds considerable promise but has not even been fully developed theoretically and validated. The goal of this paper is to explore and explicate the paradigm's decision making process to participate in adult education in the hopes of providing a better understanding of this process and encourage further research to validate the paradigm. More specifically, this research attempts to build a conceptual framework based upon the concept of control to inter-relate the structural (intervening) and individual (intermediate) factors of the paradigm in a meaningful way that might explicate the decision making process to participate or not participate in adult education.

The concept of control is used to help explain the early stages of deciding to participate in adult education. Control would appear to be a promising construct since there is a "strong correlation between an individual's possibility of controlling his/her situation and participation in adult education" (Knudsen & Skaalvik cited in Rubenson (1987)). Also, Adelman et al. (1986) make a connection between perceived control and generalized expectancy in making decisions. The control model presented borrows from a number of sources but uses the considerable research of Weisz (1986) to provide the basic framework. Weisz (1986) states that "control-related beliefs can mediate goal-directed action...[and] efforts to achieve a goal depend partly on the perceived controllability of that goal" (p.789). The concept of control is concerned with process expectancies; that is, the processes that significantly influence an intended event. However, since the recruitment paradigm is based upon the expectancy-valence construct considerable emphasis is placed upon outcome. By focusing here on the early stage of the recruitment paradigm it is anticipated that an understanding of expectations regarding control of process can be achieved and process and outcome control may eventually be integrated.

Rubenson's Recruitment Paradigm

Rubenson (1985, 1987) has proposed a paradigm/model of participation in adult education based upon general expectancy-valence theory which identified and inter-relates internal cognitive/affective variables and external environmental variables

to explain the individual's decision making process to participate in adult education. The recruitment paradigm considers both motives and barriers to participation. Unlike previous research on participation motives (Boshier, 1977; Houle, 1961) and barriers to participation (Darkenwald & Valentine, 1985), Rubenson's model is an effort to analyze the interaction between individual cognitive factors (i.e. motives) and structural factors (i.e. barriers). Expectancy-valence theory evolved from cognitive field theory (Lewin, 1951), interaction theory (needs and press) (Murray, 1952), social learning theory (Rotter, 1954), and more specifically, force of motivation theory (Vroom, 1964).

In Rubenson's (1987) model, "participation in adult education is regarded as a function of the individual's interpretation of the psychological field as it is developed through interaction with structural factors in society" (p.53). The psychological field and structural factors are largely defined by expectancy-valence theory derived from Vroom (1964). Psychological factors include congenital properties, previous socialization, and needs. Some of the structural factors accorded special status include study possibilities, characteristics of reference groups, and hierarchic structure. The model illustrated in Figure 1 consists of a level of intervening variables and two levels of intermediate variables. It is important to emphasize that the intervening variables are not mutually independent and by themselves do not explain participation behavior. How the individual interprets the situation (intervening variables) is depicted by the intermediate variables.

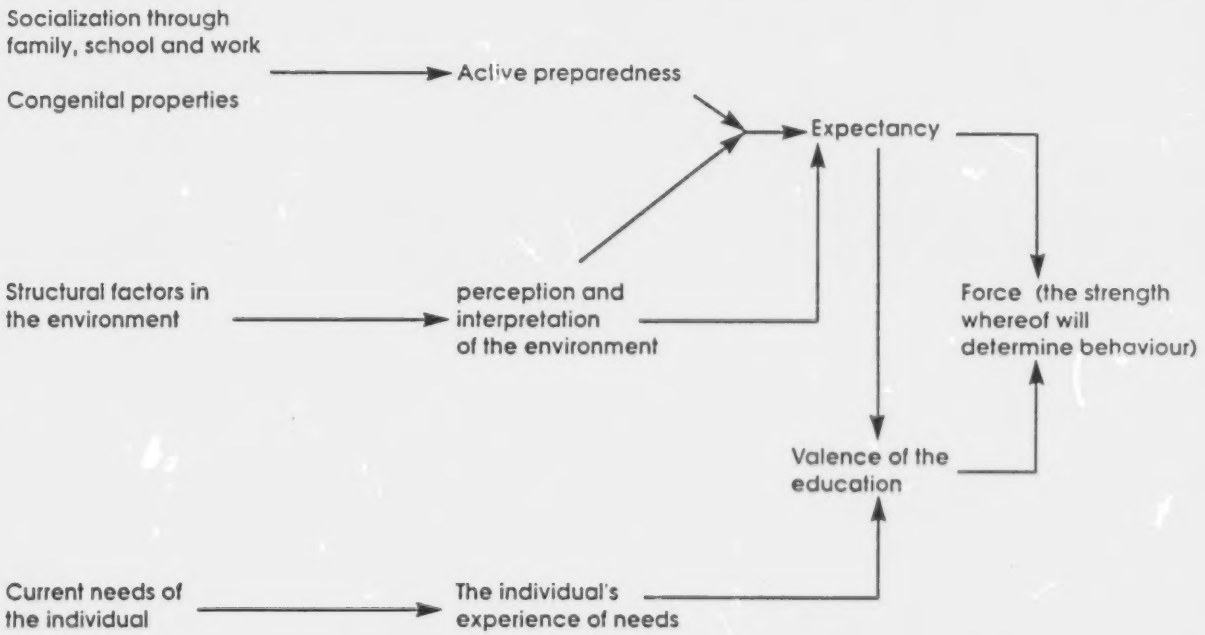
Socialization through family, school and work
Congenital properties
Active preparedness
Expectancy
Structural factors in the environment
perception and interpretation of the environment
Force (the strength whereof will determine behaviour)
Valence of the education
Current needs of the individual
The individual's experience of needs

Figure 1: Paradigm of Recruitment in Adult Education

Not all factors of the model, however, are well defined. The focus of much of Rubenson's discussion is an structural (barriers) and personal factors leading to expectancy. Expectancy, according to Rubenson (1987), is the product of the expectation that education will have desirable consequences and the expectation of being able to participate in, and complete, the educational experience. On the other hand, valence, which "sees participation in adult education as a conceivable means of satisfying experienced needs" (Rubenson 1985, p.35), is not clearly defined by Rubenson, other than to infer that needs are a product of the interaction of other intervening variables. Valence is therefore a result of these needs, and in this model, valence could be considered the affective component representing the magnitude of the desire/need for education. In addition, little is said about congenital properties.

The major difficulty with the model is seen here as explicating the relationship between the intervening and intermediate variables. Rubenson (1981) also alludes to the need for a deeper understanding by suggesting future research explore the way different factors relate to each other and to participation in adult education. In a review of theories and models of participation in adult education, MacLean (1985) states that Rubenson's expectancy-valence model does not "really identify the processes by which individuals come to decide whether or not they will participate in adult education" (p.55). Given the previous comments, we now turn to the issue of control in an attempt to begin to understand the decision making process to participate in adult education.

Control

The concept used to explicate the decision making process is that of control. Although Rubenson (1987) does not directly address the issue of control he does believe there is a relationship between the possibility of controlling a situation and participation in adult education. In addition, in a design suggested by Rubenson for investigating the expectancy concept one of three factors is "control of one's current situation". It is suggested here that control of both process and outcome is a very important issue when making decisions that initiate goal directed behavior. However, before expectations regarding the desired consequences of an action are determined, individuals must understand the processes involved and develop "expectations about the degree to which one can control processes" (Adelman et al. 1986, p.1006). Control is a generalized expectancy that must be considered early in the decision making process.

Control in a general sense may be regarded as influencing or causing an intended event. Judgments of control, according to Weisz (1983), "influence the direction of much of our behavior; they help to determine where we invest our achievement energies...how long we persist...and how effectively we work" (p.234). To exert control, Weisz (1983) believes an individual must make an accurate judgement about one's capacity for control which is dependent upon assessing both "contingency" and "competence" factors. Contingency is "the degree to which an event can be controlled" (Weisz, 1986, p.226). There are many events

that are not in the control of the individual and therefore degree of contingency must be assessed. Competence, on the other hand, is "the individual's capacity to manifest the attributes or behavior on which the intended event is contingent" (Weisz, 1986, p.226).

If we move these control factors to the recruitment paradigm an immediate correspondence appears between the intervening and first level of intermediate variables (see Figure 2). Starting at the top level of Rubenson's paradigm it would appear that the intervening variables of socialization (e.g. previous schooling) and congenital properties correspond to competency while the next level of structural factors in the environment correspond very well to contingency factors. As such, we can see the connection between control (as consisting of competency and contingency factors) and expectancy. Control may therefore be seen as the ability and opportunity to determine or influence decisions related to outcome expectancy. The next step is to understand how such information influences the decision making process.

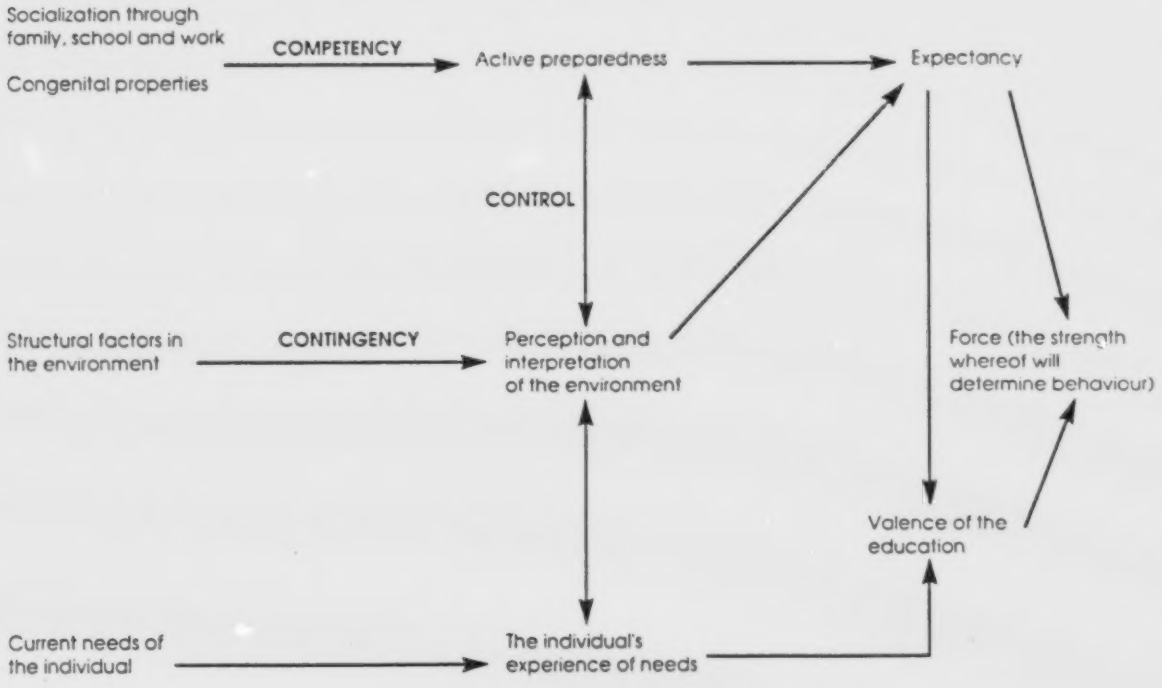

Figure 2: Decision Making Model for Participation

The challenge to the individual considering participation in adult education is to accurately integrate competence and contingency information. How individuals acquire valid competency and contingency information and how they actually use it is crucial to the decision making process. Actual as opposed to perceived control is dependent upon accurate assessment of competence and

contingency. The danger, however, is that the individual will selectively perceive only that information that is congruent with an acceptable reference system (i.e. self concept) but not congruent with external reality. In such a situation an individual may have too high or too low a sense of control. Inflated control due to an exaggerated sense of one's abilities or not understanding the demands of a situation may initially lead to high expectations and participation but eventually will meet with failure. Evidence of unrealistically high expectation leading to dropout was found by Garrison (1987). On the other hand, many adults have unrealistically poor expectations regarding their ability and what might be demanded of them in a learning context, and therefore, do not have the necessary expectancy and choose not to participate.

Much of Rubenson's discussion as we noted earlier was directed to personal and structural variables as they relate to expectancy. However, before concluding this discussion it may be worth adding a comment about individual needs which lead directly to valence or the magnitude of the affective desire for education. The interesting question here is the source of the need or desire for education. Clearly, as Rubenson suggests, such a need cannot be separated from the other intervening variables but must arise out of previous experience and the values of reference groups. In terms of the process that occurs between the intervening and intermediate variables it would seem that there would have to be some triggering event or disorientation which would set-up some dissonance. From this perspective it might be argued that valence precedes active preparedness and interpretation of the environment. At a minimum the arrows from experience of needs should go vertically through each stage of the first level of intermediate variables.

Conclusion

While the recruitment paradigm of Rubenson has been explicated to a degree using the control concept, the reality is that little is known about this decision making process. Further research efforts are required to better understand why adults choose to participate, or not, in formal educational endeavors. Given the importance of understanding participation in adult education, it is imperative that a greater effort (in some cases an initial effort) be made to explicate and validate the more promising models of participation. The position here is that the recruitment paradigm holds much potential due to extensive background research on expectancy-valence as well as the parsimonious integration of personal and structural factors affecting the decision making process. It is the hope that this contribution will generate increased interest and activity in exploring the usefulness of the recruitment paradigm.

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COMMONALITIES OF SELF-DIRECTED LEARNING AND LEARNING IN SELF-HELP GROUPS

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Abstract: This exploratory, descriptive, qualitative research investigation examines whether the adult learning that takes place within four mutual-aid self-help groups is the group counterpart of self-directed learning in individuals. Nine common characteristics of self-directed learning and self-help become the organizing element for the collection, presentation, and analysis of the data.

PROBLEM

This study analyzes the extent to which self-directed learning and the learning that takes place within four peer-led, mutual-aid self-help groups are the same phenomenon. It focuses upon nine characteristics, grounded in the professional adult education and mental health literature, that the two forms of learning appear to have in common.

SIGNIFICANCE

By looking at the self-initiated, self-directed learning that takes place within four mutual-aid self-help groups as part of the natural learning process, this study provides a functional picture of self-directed learning as a social process. It involves activities that flow from the learners rather than from institutions, promoting ideas of self-directed, self-initiated learning that can be observed and then developed at the level of practice. It urges attention to problems of cooperation or mutual exchange between formal and informal education, and it draws from an array of academic disciplines, providing a multi-disciplinary cooperation that adds to mutual insights for adult educators as well as mental health experts and others from the helping professions.

TERMINOLOGY

In the context of this study the term "self-directed learning" refers to a construct of autonomous learning developed by adult educators to try to explain the type of learning that takes place when adults initiate and take responsibility for their own learning endeavors. Similarly, mental health professionals have researched the self-help process or "self-help" that takes place within small, voluntary, peer-run, mutual-aid support groups and offers participants the opportunity to work together to overcome or cope with a common concern or problem. These groups are often called "self-help groups" and the prototype of them all is Alcoholics Anonymous; nevertheless, not all self-help groups are based on the precepts of Alcoholics Anonymous. In fact, many forms of self-help groups have evolved since the inception of Alcoholics Anonymous. For purposes of the self-directed focus of this study the most distinctive feature that the sample self-help groups had in common was that they were thought to be peer-led and independent of professional or outside intervention.

METHODOLOGY

The qualitative, descriptive exploratory methodology employed in this study focuses on the similarities between self-directed learning and self-help as gleaned from the professional literature. As in all research investigations, the researcher became the human instrument who mediated the information. The design of the investigation incorporated four observations apiece of four different pre-selected, mutual-aid self-help groups, the administration of a written questionnaire at two meetings of one sample group (the questionnaire proved to be an imposition on the participants; therefore, it was not used after the first two administrations), and taped oral interviews of two or more established members of each of the four sample groups. In addition to the observations, questionnaires, and interviews, all of which incorporated nine common characteristics of self-directed learning and self-help that emanated from the adult education and mental health professional literature, a self-help continuum for groups was applied to each sample group in an effort to determine the amount of autonomy experienced by participants during the observed meetings. Prior to the start of the data collection in the sample groups, a pilot study was conducted with the cooperation of an additional self-help group to prove the feasibility of the proposed methodology and to help ascertain the effectiveness of the evaluation instruments.

Data were collected, recorded, charted, coded, presented, and analyzed according to the nine common characteristics of self-directed learning and self-help. It was thought that the data, triangulated for purposes of credibility, validity, reliability and generalizability, could be accounted for from a perspective in which the general resides in the particular.

DESCRIPTION OF DATA

As the result of an in-depth review of the professional literature on self-directed learning and self-help the researcher postulated that there are nine characteristics that self-directed learning and self-help appear to have in common. They are as follows:

1. the pursuit of new knowledge starts with a personal problem, need, or interest that requires attention;
2. there exists a range of systematic planning for learning;
3. participants try to improve their knowledge and competencies for carrying out their own objectives;
4. there is a great deal of interpersonal contact that takes place for purposes of learning;
5. participants seek additional help in order to carry out their objectives;
6. participants have trouble identifying appropriate resources to help them with the learning process;
7. there are professionals assisting with the learning process;
8. there is a time line associated with the tenure of participation; and
9. the learning that takes place enables participants to feel and use their own strengths in order to gain control over their lives.

Once the researcher formulated the nine characteristics of self-directed learning and self-help, she went through the process of choosing the groups to be studied. Finally, she conducted her field work by going into the sample groups that she had chosen and using the nine common characteristics of self-directed learning and self-help as a standard by which to measure the self-directedness of the group learning.

The design of this study called for a purposive sampling of four mutual-aid self-help groups. The four sample self-help groups, chosen from a Chicago and metropolitan area directory of self-help mutual-aid groups, were: a twelve-step addiction group for people with eating disorders and based upon the ideology espoused by Alcoholics Anonymous; a cancer self-help group for people with the life-threatening illness of cancer and their friends and relatives; a divorce group for people dealing with marital problems; and a caregiver's group for the primary caregivers of people with Parkinson's disease.

The choice of the sample groups depended upon a number of factors among which were the geographical location, frequency and scheduling of meetings, acceptance of the researcher and research procedure by the members of each group, and that the range of groups reflect a variety of topical concerns. All of the groups were asked in advance if research could be conducted in their midst, and permission was granted after some negotiation in all four groups. It was not easy making arrangements to conduct research in the sample self-help groups; the problems involved in the undertaking had to be resolved before the study could proceed to the satisfaction of all involved parties.

The researcher was a participant observer in two of the groups in that she qualified as a member because she had the same problem as the members, and she was an outside observer in the other two groups in that she did not share the problem. Being a participant observer helped the researcher to be accepted in the groups where she shared the problem. Written descriptions of the four sample groups reveal that there was no typical self-help group. A descriptive cross section of the sample groups demonstrates a diversity of organizational structure, program focus, leadership style and learning format.

A demographic breakdown of the number and sex of participants who attended the sample self-help meetings shows that more women than men attended the sixteen observed meetings of the four sample self-help groups, and the breakdown along with the questionnaire results show that there was quite a bit of variation in the number, occupations, and education of participants from meeting to meeting and between groups. Almost all of the people who attended the meetings were white; a few participants were foreign born.

Questionnaire and observation results were compiled, converted into statistics, and presented in tables that quantitatively demonstrated the extent to which the nine common characteristics of self-directed learning and self-help were perceived by some participants and the observer to exist within the sample self-help groups. The results from the two tables were then combined in a narrative form with extensive verbal data from the interviews and, finally, organized, presented, and analyzed by means of the nine common characteristics of self-directed

learning and self-help. Both the statistical and the descriptive data support the perception that the self-directed learning process as researched by adult educators and the learning that took place in the sample self-help groups are very similar, if not the same, phenomena.

A self-help continuum developed for another study on self-help by cited mental health professionals was applied to the four sample groups in an effort to examine the autonomy of the learning process that took place within each group. The continuum revealed the autonomy of the group process with regard to the format and amount of control exercised by peer leaders within each group. It was found that the cancer group was the least autonomous, followed by the caregivers group, and both Overeaters Anonymous and the divorce group were equally autonomous in different ways. This information was included with the rest of the data on Characteristic Seven which had to do with whether or not professionals were involved in the group learning process. The results pointed out that peer as well as professional leadership can allow or not allow for an autonomous learning environment. It was thought that the learning that took place within the sample self-help groups was both self-directed and autonomous to the degree that the members required it to be. This was true for both individual as well as group self-direction and autonomy.

CONCLUSIONS

In conclusion, it can be said that while there are inherent differences between individual self-directed learning and the self-directed learning that takes place within self-help groups, data in this study demonstrate that self-directed learning and the learning in self-help groups have a great deal in common. One might even suggest that the self-help process is a group form of self-directed learning to the extent that:

1. the pursuit of new knowledge starts with a personal problem, need, or interest that requires attention;
2. there exists a range of systematic planning for learning;
3. participants try to improve their knowledge and competencies for carrying out their own objectives;
4. there is a great deal of interpersonal contact that takes place for purposes of learning;
5. participants sometimes seek additional help in order to carry out their objectives;
6. participants sometimes have trouble identifying appropriate resources to help them with the learning process;
7. sometimes there are professionals assisting with the learning process;
8. there does not appear to be a time line associated with the tenure of participation in self-help groups as there has been found to be in self-directed learning projects; and
9. the self-directed learning that takes place both individually and in self-help groups enables people to feel and use their own strengths in order to gain control over their lives, whether it has to do with everyday problems, needs, or interests, or with major life crises.

While Characteristics Five through Seven do not negate the contention that self-directed learning and self-help have a great deal in common, they do raise some soul-searching questions about the issue of autonomy for professionals who have an interest in assisting with individual self-directed learning and/or the self-directed learning that takes place within self-help groups.

Significant areas of research that emerged in the literature are reviewed with reference to the data for purposes of final discussion and in order to broaden the perspective of this study. They include motivation and participation studies; issues concerning therapy, social action, and autonomy; the self-help process including organization, leadership, philosophy, support, therapy, learning, and education; and self-help as a form of adult education. Commenting on self-help as a form of adult education, the researcher found the sample groups to be valuable educational communities for adults who were involved in a very personal form of self-directed learning. As a result of this study she views self-help as a unique kind of non-traditional adult education institution with a focus on peer support and personally relevant self-directed learning.

IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The kind of community that self-help groups offer can soften competitive learning situations and lead to a form of cooperative rather than destructive competition wherein individuals work together on their own problems or educational tasks with consideration for the well-being of everyone involved. Mutual-aid self-help groups are often providing contexts in which the skills for authentic communication and genuine community are being learned. Unfortunately, traditional adult education is too often undertaken in a restrictive and limiting environment that discourages rather than encourages authenticity and self-empowerment. The empowerment that results from the self-help learning process is self-empowerment through others rather than empowerment from or by others. It does not come without personal risk, but it is worth taking the chance of being authentic and vulnerable because empowerment from or by others is conditional, while self-empowerment frees individuals to take charge of their own lives.

The concept of the supportive, self-directed, self-help learning process can be adapted into numerous adult education settings by suggesting the idea and then giving participants the opportunity to become a genuine community around some problem, need, or interest that members of the group have in common. It must be remembered that mutual-aid self-help groups are voluntary; therefore, if there is no reason for the group to exist, it will not succeed. Also, if no one is interested in the idea it will not succeed, because a self-help community requires a personal investment on the part of the participants. Examples of adult education settings to which the self-help process might be creatively adapted cover an extensive range of possibilities; some suggestions are adult remedial and higher education settings, staff development for professionals, training programs for business and industry, seminars on cross-cultural communication, English as a second

language classes, and classes for the elderly. There are numerous ways in which a self-help learning model could be creatively applied to adult education settings.

While adult educators can be catalysts for the implementation of self-help groups within educational settings, it is important to note that the role of the professional can make the difference between a real self-help community and a pseudo self-help community. In some cases there is a legitimate role for intuitively sensitive professionals within existing self-help groups, but, for the most part, self-help groups manage to get along very well without outside help. It is recommended that the role of professionals with regard to self-help groups is to help them get started, refer people to existing groups, inform other professionals about self-help groups, give special advice when asked to share their expertise, find material resources for existing groups when asked, and join groups as equal members. It is imperative that the personal interests of self-help participants be respected and served before those of involved professionals and that the members of the groups designate the tasks that accepted professionals are called upon to carry out. The best way to learn about the self-help process is to authentically join a self-help group as a member and learn about it firsthand.

Respect for the autonomy of mutual-aid self-help groups must also be a priority for researchers who want to investigate the self-directed, self-help learning process. It is expedient to read the literature on conducting research in mutual-aid self-help groups before embarking on a research investigation so as to be aware of the inherent problems involved in carrying out such a task. One needs the permission, trust, and cooperation of the members in order to conduct research within self-help groups; therefore, it is essential to be open and honest about all intended procedures and to respect the confidentiality and anonymity of the individual members and the groups as much as possible during every aspect of the research investigation. A flexible research plan is needed so that it can accommodate the prerequisites of the groups being studied.

Some related areas that might be considered for further research are: a survey of long-time self-help group members from a variety of groups to find out how adult educators might best meet the needs of peer self-help groups; an investigation of the various forms of leadership in peer self-help groups with a focus on group autonomy; a study that would help individuals wanting to start self-help groups; and an examination into ways in which a model of the self-help process might be incorporated into other kinds of adult learning groups and/or adult education settings and an evaluation of its effectiveness.

THE IMPACT OF FEMINISM ON ADULT EDUCATION: AN ANALYSIS OF TRENDS IN SCHOLARSHIP

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Abstract: This study sought to determine how feminist perspectives on women and gender have affected selected publications in adult education. Findings reveal small but potentially important signs of influence; questions are raised about the significance of these trends for further understanding of gender-related issues in adult education.

BACKGROUND

During the past several decades there has been a tremendous growth in literature concerning women and gender differences in a variety of disciplines. The results of this scholarship have enhanced our understanding of issues of particular concern for women as well as contributed new perspectives to academic disciplines in general. However, the extent to which these new perspectives have influenced adult education literature has not previously been studied. By conducting a systematic analysis of major publications in adult education, the researchers hoped to clarify trends in existing research and determine the potential value of further attention to women and gender differences.

Similar efforts have been made to assess the impact of feminist scholarship on research and publications in a number of other disciplines. Dubois, Kelly, Kennedy, Korsmeyer, and Robinson (1985) present one of the most comprehensive reviews of publications in academic journals from five disciplines: history, literature, education, anthropology and philosophy. Related analyses have also been done in sociology (Ward & Grant, 1985) and psychology (Crawford & Marecek, 1989). The results of these studies suggest that some influence from feminist scholarship can be identified in most fields, but the extent and nature of this impact varies considerably according to discipline. Interestingly, publications in other education journals were found to exhibit relatively little influence (Dubois et al, 1985). An analysis of trends in adult education, with its unique characteristics as a field, can make a contribution to this growing effort to understand the emergence of new perspectives on women and gender in all disciplines.

The overall purpose of this study was to assess the extent to which feminist scholarship has influenced selected adult education literature. Specific research objectives included: (1) to analyze trends in the study of women and gender differences as central topics of inquiry in adult education; (2) to assess, through content analysis, the treatment of women and gender differences in scholarship not primarily focused on women; and (3) to analyze trends in women's contributions as authors to the literature in adult education. This third objective was included partly due to the findings of earlier studies that indicate a relationship between women's participation as authors and the publication of articles on women and gender issues (Ward & Grant, 1985).

METHODOLOGY

Data Collection and Analysis

Trend Analysis. The first and third research objectives required the identification of trends in the literature. Using an approach similar to Dubois et al. (1985), sources were examined for trends from 1966 to 1988. Since scholarship on women in all fields was sparse prior to the early 1970s, the literature published prior to 1970 provided a baseline for comparisons with later work. Patterns in the sample of sources (see below) were determined by counting the articles or papers with a primary focus on women, gender differences, or a subject particularly associated with women. As Dubois et al. (1985) note, this form of measurement appears to be relatively straightforward; however, determining what should qualify as literature on women or women's issues is a difficult task. Further, the criteria for making this determination varies from discipline to discipline (Dubois et al., 1985). In this study, we adopted the criteria employed by Dubois et al. (1985) for literature on women/gender in the general field of education: included were any articles or papers explicitly on women as learners and women's educational programs, as well as literature dealing with gender bias or gender differences in the processes and outcomes of adult education.

Each article or paper was coded according to its source as well as by gender of author. The frequencies and percentages of such publications were calculated for each source. The frequency and percentage of female authors were also calculated. In addition, statistics were calculated for the combined sample of journals as a whole. Trends were determined for each source as well as comparisons made between sources.

Content Analysis. To ascertain the impact of feminist scholarship on general literature, a more detailed content analysis was conducted of a broader sample of journal articles from 1987 and 1988. All articles on women or gender differences were excluded from this analysis. Also excluded were articles dealing with topics of traditional concern for women; specifically, continuing education in typically female professions (such as nursing and home economics) and parent/ family life education (these articles were subject to a separate analysis not reported here). Research studies were analyzed to determine if scholarship on women was reflected in the conceptualization of the problem or background discussion, if gender of subjects was reported, if gender was utilized as a variable in data analysis, and if gender differences or feminist interpretations were discussed in the interpretation of findings. Other articles were examined for the influence of feminist scholarship on the conceptualization of the topic and to identify specific ways in which women and gender differences were discussed, if at all. All articles were analyzed for use of nonsexist language and specific references to scholarship on women.

Data Source

For the trend analysis, six major sources were selected: two American journals, Adult Education/Adult Education Quarterly (AE/AEQ) and Adult Leadership/Lifelong Learning (AL/LL); two British journals, Adult Education (UK) (AEBR) and Studies in Adult Education (SAE); Adult Education Research Conference Proceedings (AERC), and American Doctoral Dissertation Abstracts (DISS). These sources were selected because they had publications prior to 1970 and represented a potentially diverse range of publications that would permit comparisons according to a variety of characteristics. In the more detailed content analysis, the four journals listed above were examined along with two other more recently established journals: Convergence and International Journal of Lifelong Education. These journals were added to

represent adult education literature with a more international scope. AERC Proceedings and American Dissertation Abstracts were not included since the proceedings and abstracts were deemed insufficiently detailed for accurate assessment of content.

FINDINGS

Trend Analysis: Scholarship on Women

Overall analysis of trends suggests that there has been some increase in the percentage of articles and papers devoted specifically to women, women's educational programs, or gender differences over the 23 year period examined. Summary statistics are presented for five year periods in Table 1. The table includes the total number of articles or papers published in each source (N), the number of publications on women/gender issues (NW), and the percentage of these publications in relation to the total number published (%W).

Table 1

	Journal Articles			AERC Papers			Dissertations		
	N	NW	%W	N	NW	%W	N	NW	%W
1966-70	614	15	2.44	- *	-	-	339	9	2.65
1971-75	792	28	3.53	80**	1	1.25	657	22	3.35
1976-80	678	26	3.83	258	8	3.16	1008	49	4.86
1981-85	631	20	3.17	242	10	4.13	1140	91	7.98
1986-88	335	17	5.07	183	13	7.10	740	54	7.30
TOTAL	3050	106	3.47	763	32	4.19	3884	225	5.79

Note. Data was collected for 1986-88 to provide information on the most recent trends. When making comparisons, it should be noted that the statistics for this period are based on a three rather than five year period.

* papers/abstracts unavailable
** 1973 & 1975 proceedings unavailable thus not included in statistics

As the table reveals, there were some notable differences between sources. The combined journal statistics exhibit the lowest overall change in percentage of articles on women (a difference of 2.79 between the earliest and most recent period examined) and also the lowest percentage of such articles in the most recent period of analysis (1986-88). AERC figures show the most dramatic increase in percentage of papers on women (5.85) as well as a higher percentage in 1986-88. The dissertations also show a more substantial increase (4.65) than the journals and the highest percentage of publications devoted to women in 1986-88, slightly higher than the percentage of AERC papers devoted to such topics.

While the combined journal statistics suggest that the journals exhibit the least impact, there are some potentially important variations among individual journals. While the relatively small number of publications on women/gender issues for each journal should be kept in mind when examining percentages, due to the great impact that a single article can have on the statistics, general trends suggest differences between British and American journals. As Table 2 indicates, both American journals have lower percentages of articles on women in 1986-88 than either British journal; further, while AEBR shows a fairly consistent increase in articles, the American journals have an inconsistent pattern, resulting in essentially no clear change in percentage of articles devoted to women or gender issues.

Table 2

YEAR	AE/AEQ Articles N	AE/AEQ Articles NW	AE/AEQ Articles %W	AL/LL Articles N	AL/LL Articles NW	AL/LL Articles %W	SAE Articles N	SAE Articles NW	SAE Articles %W	AEBR Articles N	AEBR Articles NW	AEBR Articles %W
66-70	79	0	0.00	404	14	3.46	- *	-	-	131	1	.76
71-75	83	3	3.61	522	22	4.21	46	0	0.00	141	3	2.13
76-80	75	3	4.00	381	14	3.67	56	2	3.57	166	7	4.22
81-85	94	1	1.06	309	9	2.91	47	1	2.13	181	9	4.97
86-88	58	1	1.72	139	4	2.88	30	3	10.00	108	9	8.33
TOTAL	389	8	2.06	1755	63	3.59	179	6	3.35	727	29	3.99

* SAE began publication in 1969; statistics are not included for this period due to the disproportionately small number of articles

Content Analysis: General Literature

General scholarship in adult education journals shows limited evidence of integration of feminist perspectives from recent scholarship on women. A total of 320 articles was examined in the six journals for the two years 1987 and 1988. Of these articles, 28 (8.4%) were considered to be devoted to women or gender issues, using the broadest criteria described above; these were excluded from the content analysis. The remaining 292 articles included 58 articles that were descriptions of research, including quantitative, qualitative and historical studies. Of these articles, 24 reported gender of the sample utilized in the research; however, only 14 actually used gender as a variable in data analysis. Further, only seven included a discussion of gender differences (or lack of differences) in the interpretation of findings. Two authors identified implications for educational programs specifically for women. Three historical studies mentioned the existence of the women's movement or identified instances of sexism in education. Two authors, while not including analysis of gender differences in their studies, indicated a need for such analysis in future research.

The 231 articles not identified as research reports included 39 articles with some attention to women in particular or gender issues. Twelve authors identified special needs of women as learners or educators. Four described particular roles of women in areas such as national development or community education. Seven included mention of feminism or the women's movement. Twelve authors treated gender as significant by discussing the learning needs and characteristics of men and women separately, or by directly pointing out the importance of gender in relation to educational issues. Seven articles included some mention of sexism in education or society. Two articles showed evidence of influence in their attention to the significance of personal relationships, drawing on perspectives emerging from feminist scholarship.

While editorial policies clearly promoted the use of nonsexist language, 18 articles still contained examples of sexist language, including use of a "generic" masculine pronoun as well as nongeneric professional titles and workplace terms. In a number of cases, the inappropriate use of a generic masculine noun or pronoun was identified in articles that also had obvious attempts to utilize nonsexist language, suggesting an "editorial" oversight. Finally, of the total number of articles, only ten (3%) included any reference to literature devoted primarily to women or gender issues.

Trends in Women as Authors

The data indicates that the number of female authors has increased consistently over the 23 year period in all sources examined. American Dissertations Abstracts showed the greatest increase in proportion of women authors (from 15.16% women authors in 1966-70, to 56.71% in 1986-88) as well as the highest proportion of women in 1986-88. The combined journal and AERC statistics were comparable both in change over time and in 1986-88 figures. In AERC proceedings, the proportion of women authors increased from 19.05% in 1971-1975 to 39.92% in 1986-88. Women authors in the combined journals increased from 16.25% in 1966-70 to 39.16% in 1986-88. AL/LL exhibited the greatest change of any journal, as well as the highest proportion of women authors: women comprised 18.91% of AL/LL authors in 1966-1970 and 48.97% of authors in 1986-88. In all sources, women were by far the majority of authors of articles identified as primarily devoted to women/gender issues: for all years combined, women authored 79% of journal articles, 84% of AERC papers and 88% of dissertations with such a focus.

DISCUSSION

Our research identifies a small but potentially important increase in the literature published on women and gender issues in adult education. This growth suggests that feminist scholarship has had some influence on research and practice in adult education. However, differences in trends between sources raise questions about the nature of this influence. It is not surprising that AERC papers and dissertations would be the first to show the influence of new scholarship and exhibit a greater degree of influence. Frequently such scholarship represents work in its earliest stages and forms the basis for later journal publications. However, while both AERC proceedings and dissertations show a consistent increase in publications on women/gender issues, the lack of such consistency for the journals raises important questions.

Journal articles are subject to potentially more rigorous review by the "gatekeepers of knowledge" in a discipline (Spender, 1981); they also have a wider audience and more impact on practice and subsequent scholarship. Thus, the journal data provides perhaps the best indication of significant and lasting trends in the field. AEBR is the only journal with an identifiable increase in articles devoted to women/gender issues. While the reasons for this finding are undoubtedly complex, two factors might be relevant. First, the content analysis revealed that AEBR had the highest proportion of articles primarily focused on descriptions of practice (interestingly, even higher than AL/LL, characterized as the practice-oriented journal in the USA); the growing numbers of women students, an increase in special programs for women, and the high proportion of female practitioners might therefore make women's issues more salient given this focus. It also had the greatest proportion of articles characterized as discussions of issues in adult education. This emphasis perhaps reflects an adult education community with more receptivity to the kind of social critique proposed by feminist scholarship. In general, British adult education has been characterized as more concerned with such critique than American adult education (Brookfield, 1985). While SAE does not show as consistent an influence as AEBR, this may be due to the smaller numbers of publications overall, which makes identification of smaller trends more difficult.

It is possible that American dissertation research and AERC papers as well as other scholarship on women/gender issues in adult education ultimately are published in journals other than the ones reviewed here. The

isolation of feminist scholarship in special journals is a concern discussed by many feminist scholars. This "ghettoization" detracts from the general prominence and impact of scholarship on women.

The content analysis provides an even more stringent assessment of impact. Again, a small influence can be observed, but the significance of this influence is questionable. The finding that only seven of 14 studies using gender as a variable in analysis included a meaningful discussion of findings related to this variable detracts from the importance ascribed to gender. Pointing out the need for future research on gender differences is important but might be more of a token gesture than a meaningful statement of priorities. Further, describing gender as one of many personal characteristics does not provide clear evidence of the influence of feminist perspectives. Evidence of influence in non-research articles is also tenuous. For the most part, recognition of feminist thought consisted of only a few isolated comments rather than recurring references or a noticeable impact on conceptualization. Those authors that identified "special needs" of women did not necessarily move beyond stereotypes of female and male characteristics. The extremely limited number of references to any feminist scholarship seems to provide strong evidence of the lack of integration of feminist thought in general adult education literature.

Dubois et al. (1985) found that education journals showed less evidence of influence than journals in a number of other academic disciplines. They speculate that, to protect their own credibilty in academe, scholars in education, given its relative newness and more tentative position as an academic discipline, may be less receptive to feminist scholarship. This may be even more true for those who work in adult education, which has a marginal position in the discipline of education itself. Further, such feelings may be compounded for the large numbers of women entering the field, who still face the possibility of marginalization due to their gender; thus they may be reluctant to become identified with women's studies. However, as women become the majority of both students and educators in the field, it seems critical that scholars as well as practitioners devote greater attention to understanding women's needs and gender differences in all aspects of adult education.

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An Analysis of Structural Factors Associated with Participation in State-Funded Adult Basic Education Programs

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Abstract: This paper examines the effects of the broader social, political and economic context on participation in state-funded adult literacy programs. Using the state as the unit of analysis, it employs both a cross-sectional and longitudinal research design to determine the impact of state characteristics on aggregate adult education participation rates.

Introduction and Background

This paper argues that the social, political, and economic context in which an individual lives directly impinges on their participate in state-funded adult literacy programs. In the aggregate this means that the overall demand for adult education programs -- and changes in that demand over time -- are determined, in part, by structural conditions which either facilitate or impede participation in adult education. To explore the validity of this argument, we analyse whether variable features of the fifty U.S. states significantly affect levels of participation in state-funded adult education programs between 1970 and 1987.

It is important to note that the argument and analyses reported in this paper approach the issue of adult education participation from a considerably different vantage point than the existing literature. Previous research, from the earliest large-scale study of Johnstone and Rivera (1965) to more recent analyses (e.g., Anderson and Darkenwald, 1979; Cervero and Kirkpatrick, 1989), has assumed that decisions to participate in adult education programs are primarily determined by a broad array of individual-level attributes. These include such things as personal motivation, individual attitudes and perceptions toward education, pre-adult educational attainment and aspirations, family characteristics, and so on. By focusing on the individual as the main unit of analysis, past studies sought to identify which factors significantly distinguished participants in adult education programs from non-participants. Some studies have noted that the social environment may manifest certain "constraints and barriers" which affect an individual's decision to participate in adult education programs (e.g., Anderson and Darkenwald, 1979; Jarvis, 1985), but the nature of these structural impediments was rarely discussed and attempts to operationalise them empirically were never undertaken.

In the present research we employ the state as the unit of analysis and examine the relationship between structural features of states, on the one hand, and levels of participation in state-funded adult literacy programs, on the other. Our rationale for focusing on the impact of state characteristics involves several assumptions and arguments. First, and by far the most obvious, is that the federal charge "to encourage and expand basic educational program for adults" as originally stated in the 1966 Adult Education Act is, ultimately, a state responsibility. It is the states that develop and implement plans for adult educational programs; it is the states that are directly involved in the financing, administration, staffing, and assessment of these programs. Second, states clearly vary in their commitment -- financial or otherwise -- toward furthering the goals of adult education legislation. For example, each state's financial support of adult education involves decisions by members of state legislatures, the composition of which vary in terms of political orientations and party affiliations. Third, the demographic makeup of adult residents for whom adult education programs are targeted differs dramatically across state lines. Some states have disproportionally large immigrant populations, others have large percentages of residents who are unemployed and/or lacking minimum educational credentials. It has been assumed, although not empirically established, that such states have higher and faster growing rates of adult education participation. In short, there is prima facie evidence that structural features of states may explain, to a significant degree, variation in the commitment to and level of participation in adult education programs as well as the expansion of these programs over time. It is precisely this idea that we plan to investigate in the analyses reported below.

Research Design and Methodology

The analytic strategy employed in this study follows a growing tradition of sociological

research that estimates the effects of various structural characteristics -- urbanization, industrialization, religious and ethnic composition, for example -- on state-level patterns of public school expansion (Meyer et al., 1979; Fuller, 1983; Guest and Tolnay, 1985; Walters and O'Connell, 1988). The value of this macro-level analysis, as one study recently pointed out, is that "educational change is an institutional process, and individuals make their choices within institutional contexts. As such, an aggregate level of analysis can capture these institutional dynamics and complements what can be learned from individual level studies" (Walters and O'Connell, 1988: 1126).

In the present study we examine the impact of state characteristics on aggregate participation rates in adult literacy programs using both a cross-sectional and a longitudinal research design. Our analyses are organized in two stages. We begin with a series of cross-sectional regression analyses to determine which state characteristics are associated with 1970 levels of adult education participation. Then, in a panel regression model we estimate the effects of state structural characteristics in 1970 on change in levels of adult education participation over time (between 1970 and 1987). The first analysis isolates which factors are related to variation in participation at a single time point; the latter analysis examines which factors account for growth in state-funded adult education participation over time.

Our dependent variable, which is measured at both 1970 and 1987, refers to the total number of participants in state-funded adult literacy programs divided by the total state population. The sources for these figures are Osso (1972), Pugsley (1989) and U.S. Bureau of the Census (1972, 1987). By "participants" we include those enrolled in both elementary and secondary level adult educational programs (ABE and GED), as well as those enrolled in "English as a second language" or ESL classes. We considered two alternative forms of standardization for our dependent variable given the intent of the adult education legislation: first, what might be termed the "target population" (adults over 16 without a high school diploma) and second, the adult population (only persons 18 or older). However, it appears that states use different definitions to estimate the "target population" (Development Associates, 1980) which, if true, would produce non-comparable figures. Furthermore, the ratio of the non-adult or under 18 population to the total state population does not vary greatly across states. Thus, standardizing by total, rather than adult, population figures makes little statistical difference. For these reasons we concluded that the total state population was the most appropriate form of standardization.

The independent variables are measured at 1970 and refer to structural features of states. We compiled a rather extensive list of state characteristics and categorized them into the following six groups: 1) features of the adult education program [the number of administrators and supervisors in adult literacy programs (STADMIN), the number of teachers in such programs (TEACHER), the state's contribution to the total funding of adult education programs (STFUND)]; 2) demographic variables [the percentage of the state population living in urban areas (URBAN), the proportion of foreign-born residents (FOREIGN), the proportion of black residents]; 3) measures of public school attainment and participation [percentage of the population over 25 with a high school education (EDATTAIN), the high school drop-out rate of students aged 16-17 (HSDROP), the proportion of the state's expenditure on public education]; 4) features of the state's labor force structure [(the average unemployment rate between 1968-1971 (UNEMP), and the proportions of the state labor force working in manual occupations (MANUAL), manufacturing occupations (MANUF), and service occupations (SERVICE)]; 5) indicators of economic prosperity [income per capita (INCOME), the percentage of the population living below the official poverty line (POVERTY), the percentage of state government expenditure on public welfare]; and 6) the political orientation of the population [the percentage of state legislators in the lower house who are members of the GOP (STLEG), the percentage of U.S. House of Representatives (USREP) and Senators (USSEN) who are members of the GOP]. Since many of these measures (both within and across categories) were intercorrelated, we also performed a factor analysis to determine the existence of any underlining dimensions.

Analysis and Findings

Since the enactment of the 1966 Adult Education Act, state-funded adult literacy programs have substantially expanded. According to the Division of Adult Education (DAE), the number of

participants in these programs has climbed from 455,000 in 1968 to over 3.1 million in 1986 (DAE, 1987). This increase stems from, among other things, the enlarged focus and scope of adult education programs, the emphasis on special programs for immigrant and minority populations, and the strengthening of the state's role in implementing and administrating the programs.

Standardizing the number of adult education participants in each state by the total population, the following picture emerges. In 1970 there was an average of 2.7 adult education participants for every 1000 persons. This figure varied from a low of 0.7 per 1000 in Minnesota to a high of 10.2 per 1000 in Hawaii. During the subsequent 17 years, levels of adult education participation grew in all fifty states. In 1987 the average level of adult education participation had tripled and stood at 9.3 students per 1000 persons. States with relatively low participation levels included Colorado (2.8), Virginia (3.0), Kansas (3.1), and Pennsylvania (3.1). States with relatively high levels included Florida (32.5), California (30.0), Hawaii (21.5) and South Carolina (19.8).

Which state characteristics were associated with high or low levels of adult education participation in 1970? To begin to address this question we examined average levels of participation according to four important factors: region, level of urbanization, high school drop-out rate and prevalence of a service-oriented economy. As table 1 shows, 1970 levels of participation were significantly higher in the South, in rural states, in predominantly service-oriented economies, and in states with high drop-out rates. To assess which of these -- or other -- state characteristics were most influential, we turned to a multiple regression model.

We regressed each state's level of adult educational participation in 1970 on twenty different measures of a state's demographic, social, political and economic structure. In these exploratory analyses we found that the unusually high participation level in Hawaii -- twice the level of the next highest case -- was confounding our results. So we deleted this case and reestimated our models. Using a stepwise regression approach, we found that six state characteristics were significantly associated with adult education participation rates (see Table 2, column 1). Interestingly, two of these -- the proportion of state funding for adult literacy programs (STFUND) and the number of teachers in the programs (TEACHER) -- are directly related to the provision of adult education. Both had positive and significant associations net of other factors: in other words, states with greater financial commitments to adult education and with larger teaching staffs also had higher per capita levels of participation. In addition, there was a strong positive association between the dropout rate of 16 and 17 year-old high school students (HSDROP) and the adult education participation rate. In as much as high school dropouts embody an important client base for adult education programs, then this association definitely makes sense. Overall, these findings should come as no great surprise; indeed, they entail a basic validation of the research design employed.

The remaining significant factors reflect more complex processes at work. For example, the more rural a state's population, the higher the level of adult education participation (net of other factors). Since rural states also tend to be poorer (i.e., with lower per capita incomes) and have relatively more workers in manual labor positions, caution should be exercised in attributing too much importance to this single factor. Two processes may have contributed to the higher levels of adult education participation in these states in 1970. First, the legislative mandate of 1966 to establish adult basic education programs was probably easier to implement and expand in rural states (less bureaucracy and institutional inertia) which would account for their higher participation rates in 1970. Second, rural state governments probably supported and funded far fewer educational and social welfare programs which would have competed for state monies going to adult education. Under such conditions, we would suggest that the initial establishment and expansion of adult literacy programs was more easily achieved in rural states. It does not follow, however, that while urban states were initially slow in setting up adult basic education programs, they continued to lag behind. On the contrary, there is every reason to believe that they would subsequently catch up -- and perhaps even surpass -- rural states with respect to the expansion of adult education. Indeed, as Table 1 indicates, more urban states had the highest growth rate in adult education participation during the 1970-1987 period. By 1987, they had achieved higher average levels of participation than rural states (11.1 per 1000).

We also found that states with a greater proportion of the labor force employed in the service sector had higher levels of participation in adult literacy programs. These states, many of which are

located in the Western region, exhibit a stronger commitment to adult education programs than states with a stronger manufacturing-based economies. The reasoning behind this association is not readily apparent, although it may be that owners and managers of service companies are especially interested in hiring adult employees with basic literacy and social interaction skills which adult education programs are perceived as inculcating. And insofar as employers in service occupations require at least a high school diploma for employment -- evidence for which is available (see Collins, 1979: 6) -- then the demand for adult education programs in service-oriented states will be greater. At this juncture, however, we cannot rule out an alternative explanation which reverses the causal ordering of these variables: namely, that states with higher levels of adult education participation contribute to a stronger and more dynamic service-oriented economy. (We shall examine the causal effects of this factor in the longitudinal analyses below).

Another finding, which indirectly complements our discussion concerning the service sector, is that states in the Northcentral region have (net of other factors) significantly lower levels of adult education participation. This is a curious, and perhaps unexpected, finding since these midwestern states are historically known for their well-developed educational systems, progressive political orientations and strong economies. Indeed, our analyses show that, on the average, these states had lower high school dropout rates, higher levels of overall educational attainment as well as a stronger blue-collar work force and lower unemployment rates. (Keep in mind we are referring to 1970, prior to the economic recessions of the mid and late 1970s). However it may be precisely for these reasons that the demand for adult education was low. Full employment, dominated by blue collar occupations (which generally do not require a high school diploma) and high levels of educational attainment do not create a context in which the perceived need for adult education is strong.

One final comment concerning the cross-sectional analyses is in order. Just as important as noting which factors were significantly associated with levels of adult education participation, it is also necessary to mention which factors were found to be unrelated to state-level variation in this area. For example, states with larger immigrant or minority populations did not have significantly higher participation rates than states with smaller such communities. In addition, there was no evidence that adult education participation was directly related to the state's financial commitment to public education, levels of poverty, or the predominance of Republicans or Democrats in state or federal legislatures. Such factors, however, may affect the growth of adult education programs over time. And it is this issue that we turn to next.

In this section we develop an explicit causal model of the relationships between state characteristics and participation in state-funded adult literacy programs. Using a panel regression methodology we regressed the dependent variable at time 2 (in this case, 1987 participation levels) on the lagged value of the dependent variable at time 1 (i.e., 1970 participation levels) and a set of independent variables at time 1 (also at 1970). This procedure enables use to directly estimate the causal effects of state characteristics on the expansion of adult education participation, thereby reducing the problems of reverse causation and simultaneous effects which are common to cross-sectional research designs (Hannan and Young, 1977).

The results of these analyses (see columns 2-5 in Table 2) can be summarized as follows. With the exception of state adult education funding (STFUND), those factors found to be significantly associated with 1970 participation levels are not the same ones that account for changes in state-level participation over time. Overall, it appears that the state's commitment to adult education, the level of public educational attainments, and certain demographic factors had the strongest impact on the expansion of adult literacy programs during the 1970-1987 period. States more committed financially to adult literacy programs and those with a growing population base during this period (especially in the western region where many foreign immigrants relocated) experienced a more rapid expansion of adult basic education participation. These findings support common sense conjectures. Factors relating to either the economic or political context of states had modest and/or inconsistent effects on the growth of adult education participation. On the other hand, indicators of the state's educational context were quite important. As columns 4 and 5 of Table 2 suggest, states with less educated populations but with more effective secondary school systems (that is, fewer high school dropouts) experienced significantly greater growth in adult education participation. If the target population of adult literacy programs is adults with fewer educational

resources and lower credentials, then the first, though not the second, part of the above relationship makes sense. Clearly, additional analyses are needed to learn more about the specific mechanisms at work here.

Two important caveats need mentioning at this point. The analyses in this paper did not address the crucial issue of persistence and retention in adult literacy programs: are there structural factors that significantly enhance or retard aggregate participation rates in these programs? This question definitely needs careful scrutiny in the future. Also, all of the analyses reported thus far focused on the overall participation rate in state-funded adult education programs. A more detailed investigation of participation rates broken down by program (ABE, GED, ESL), sex, race, and ethnicity -- and the effects of state characteristics on these rates -- is necessary. We have begun such an investigation (not reported here) and have tentatively found that several state characteristics have significant long-term effects. Thus, even though certain aspects of state structure have little or no impact on the overall participation rate in adult education programs, they may have significant consequences for specific components of these participation rates.

Conclusion

Most studies of factors related to participation in adult education have used the individual as the unit of analysis. The primary thrust of this research orientation has been to identify variables -- mainly, psychological characteristics, personal attributes, and perceptions of barriers -- that explain individuals' decisions to participate in educational programs. Yet, from a sociological viewpoint, objective conditions exist in society (e.g., the availability of educational programs, the state's commitment to these programs) that have a manifest impact on the extent of participation in adult education. However, earlier research has not addressed the impact of these structural features because of the underlying theoretical framework that is employed. Thus we see the research reported in this paper as an important complement to previous lines of inquiry.

Although this research represents only an initial effort to identify the structural factors affecting participation in adult literacy education, it offers a different perspective to those who wish to enhance adults' participation. Government policy makers who develop and fund adult literacy education need to recognize that participation in these programs is not simply a matter of individual choice, but that the social and historical matrix of adult lives conditions this choice. These officials, educators, and other researchers must seek to better understand the enduring factors in which a decision to participate is embedded before they decry the low participation rates in these programs. This understanding may prove useful in determining the contexts in which additional funding, resources and variable types of program are needed.

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Table 1: State Levels of Participation in Adult Literacy Programs by Region, Urbanization, Service Economy and High School Drop-Out Rate

Participation in Adult Literacy Programs Per 1000 Population

Region of Country:		Northeast	Northcentral	South	West
	1970	2.3 (9)	1.6 (12)	3.9 (16)	2.5 (12)
	1987	7.0 (9)	7.5 (12)	10.3 (16)	10.3 (12)
Level of		High	Medium	Low	
Urbanization:	1970	2.3 (16)	2.1 (16)	3.6 (17)	
	1987	11.1 (16)	6.8 (16)	9.1 (17)	
Predominance of		High	Medium	Low	
Service Economy:	1970	3.4 (18)	2.5 (14)	2.1 (17)	
	1987	11.4 (18)	6.9 (14)	8.2 (17)	
High School		High	Medium	Low	
Drop-Out Rate:	1970	3.9 (16)	2.4 (16)	1.8 (17)	
	1987	10.6 (16)	8.1 (16)	8.4 (17)	

Table 2: Cross-Sectional and Panel Regression Analyses of State Levels of Participation in Adult Literacy Programs

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Dependent Variable:[1]	A b (Beta) [2]	B b (Beta)	B b (Beta)	B b (Beta)	B b (Beta)
Measures of:					
Adult Education System					
STFUND	.03 (.25) **	.18 (.45) **	.25 (.61) **	.27 (.67) **	.25 (.61) **
TEACHER	.001 (.27) **				
Demographic and Economic Context					
URBAN	-.04 (-.46) **		.14 (.38) **	.06 (.17)	
SERVICE	.12 (.21) **		-.11 (.05)	-.02 (-.01)	
MANUAL			.34 (.33) *	.17 (.16)	
INCOME			-.003 (-.26)	-.001 (.12)	
Educational and Political Context					
HSDROP	.13 (.34) **			-.72 (-.51) **	-.81 (-.58) **
EDATTAIN				-.58 (-.91) **	-.68 (1.08)**
USREP				.03 (.18)	
STLEG				-.04 (-.15)	
Control Variables:					
TPART70		1.04 (.42) **	.87 (.29) *	.84 (.28) *	.84 (.28) **
POP7087		.11 (.01)	2.96 (.14)	8.62 (.41) *	8.67 (.42) **
NCENT	-.75 (-.24) **	.49 (.04)	.45 (.04)	3.48 (.29)	3.55 (.30) *
NEAST		-1.10 (-.08)	.20 (.02)	2.83 (.21)	1.83 (.14)
WEST		1.83 (.16)	1.99 (.17)	6.71 (.58) **	6.42 (.55) **
Constant	15.22	1.87	-15.71	-51.93	-48.16
N	49	49	49	49	49
Adj. R2	.698	.410	.471	.518	.540

** = Regression coefficient is twice its standard error
* = Regression coefficient is 1.5 times its standard error

Notes
1. **A** = TPART70 or per capita participation in all adult literacy programs, 1970 (Hawaii excluded)
   B = TPART87 or per capita participation in all adult literacy programs, 1987 (Florida excluded)
2. b = Unstandardized Regression Coefficient
   Beta = Standardized Regression Coefficient

Epistemological Theory and Some of Its Consequences for Adult Education

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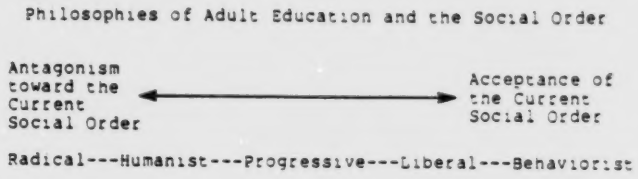
I want to argue, as a central point, that there should be a single, central aim of adult education: seeking the truth. All other aims -- organizational efficiency, personal liberation, social and political change, all other aims -- should be subordinate to this aim. This, I believe, is the consequence of the best epistemological insight that we can bring to adult education. This argument may at first appear to be echoing that of the British analytic philosophers of adult education, K. H. Lawson and R. W. K. Paterson. In fact, the language of the argument is nearly identical with the assertion of Paterson that education is the "fearless transmission of truth" (1973, 356). However, there are profound differences in the arguments, emanating from differences in the definition of truth. These differences are powerfully suggested by the language that is not the same: seeking the truth as distinguished from transmission of the truth.

In arguing this point, I will use the typologies of philosophies of adult education proposed by Elias and Merriam in Philosophical Foundations of Adult Education (1980) and by Darkenwald and Merriam in Adult Education: Foundations of Practice (1982). Darkenwald and Merriam propose five types of theoretical orientation to adult education, characterized by their aims: the cultivation of the intellect (Elias and Merriam characterize this as the liberal philosophical orientation); individual self-actualization (characterized as the humanistic orientation by Elias and Merriam); personal and social improvement (the progressive orientation); social transformation (the radical orientation); and organizational effectiveness (the behavioristic orientation). Elias and Merriam identify a sixth type, the analytic orientation, and place the six types on a chronological continuum: liberal, progressive, behaviorist, humanistic, radical, and, the most recent, analytic.

If we lay out Darkenwald and Merriam's different aims of adult education on a continuum of political orientations, we create a figure that looks something like this:


Philosophies of Adult Education and the Social Order
Antagonism toward the Current Social Order
Acceptance of the Current Social Order
Radical---Humanist---Progressive---Liberal---Behaviorist

The five philosophical orientations corresponding with these aims now range from the radical, on the left of the continuum, through humanistic, progressive, and liberal, to the behaviorist orientation on the right of the continuum. The behaviorist orientation, prizing conformity to a predetermined educational agenda and seeking the most efficient means of implementing that agenda, is politically the rightmost orientation. The liberal orientation may be, in a literal sense, the most conservative. Its roots, as Elias and Merriam point out, go back to Aristotle, Plato, and Socrates. The liberal orientation is committed to valuing, preserving, and propagating the best thoughts that have been articulated within our Western culture. As Everett Dean Martin said (1926), the liberal tradition is liberating because the truths it embodies liberate people from error and falsehood and free them to be fully functioning human beings. The progressive orientation, committed to personal and social improvement and rooted in the progressivism of John Dewey, embodies a dialectical synthesis of the interests of the individual and those of society, seeing those interests as mutually dependent. The humanistic orientation constitutes a move along the continuum still further from the conservative acceptance or even embracing of organizational structures as they currently exist. It is, in the words of Carl Rogers, person-centerd, and it is, in the words of Abraham Maslow, committed to individual self-actualization. The radical orientation to adult education sees existing organizational and social structures as standing in opposition to the democratic, egalitarian growth of persons in the society, and the intellectual traditions embodied in existing social institutions are seen, according to the Marxist analysis of most radical adult educators, as holding the disempowered victims of the system enthralled by the very ideas that oppress them. The agenda for adult education, then, becomes that of serving the overthrowing of oppressive social institutions by exposing the error and evil of conventional, traditional ideas and values that are associated with those traditional institutions.

The analytical school of adult education does not appear in Darkenwald and Merriam's analysis, and it does not appear on the continuum of aims. This philosophical orientation may be characterized as a meta-theory. Lawson and Paterson use this analytical framework to critique the other philosophical orientations to the practice of adult education, and they

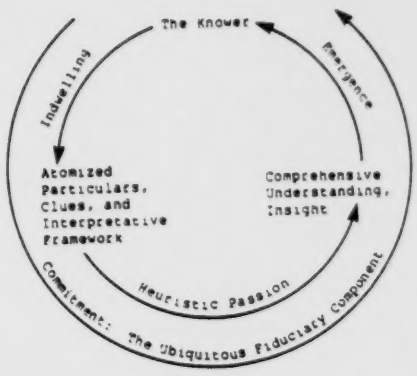
themselves find the liberal orientation, where Darkenwald and Merriam locate them, the most satisfactory.

My own argument is in fact an alternative meta-theory. And I tentatively propose, as a name for this argument, a post-critical philosophy of adult education.

The concept of truth, or knowledge, is crucial in both meta-theories. The analytic school is grounded in the philosophical tradition of logical positivism and other objectivist analytical philosphers, including Ayer, Wittgenstein, Russell, and Ryle. At the center of this tradition is a rigorous definition of knowledge that excludes any assertion that is based on faith or belief. To attain the status of knowledge, or truth, a statement must be verifiable. In a recent expression of this epistemological position, Peter Jarvis (1988), following Ayer and Israel Sheffler, argues, "Both belief and truth propositions may have meaning, that is be understandable, to the recipients but for that information to become knowledge it need not only have meaning but it must be verifiable" (166). And Jarvis, like others who have taken this epistemological position, is sensitive to its implications: "What then of those propositions which are not verifiable? How should they be treated? . . . [T]hey should not be accorded the status of knowledge and should not be treated as if they were. This does not mean that they are not important--they may be very important indeed. . . . It is here, however, that there are no truth propositions, only belief propositions, and consequently no correct answer. Hence, another danger emerges, that in a world of relativism the ideology of those in authority dominates" (167).

The difficulty that Jarvis identifies here in a contemporary discussion of theory of adult learning and thinking is one of the same difficulties that Michael Polanyi began to identify in theories of scientific thought more than half a century ago: if we define knowledge -- that which can claim the mantle of truth -- as exclusively as the positivists would have us do, then we restrict truth to such a narrow band on the range of propositions that virtually everything we do becomes relative, and virtually all propositions become subjective. This, Polanyi found (e.g. 1940, 1946, 1951), is the tragic irony of objectivism and its quest for absolute certainty: by defining truth so narrowly, it de-legitimizes vast areas of human thought -- the humanities, the arts, religious thought -- by making them indistinguishable from wholly subjective thought. The proposition, "I am a Lutheran," becomes equivalent with the proposition, "I prefer chocolate." The proposition, "We should treat one another with dignity and respect," becomes equivalent with the proposition, "We should eat dessert first." And one of the most profound political consequences is that truth in most matters having to do with human affairs, because it cannot be objectively, conclusively verified without the exercise of judgment, is in danger of becoming, as Jarvis points; out, simply whatever those in power wish it to be. Truth, as an independent force in public life, ceases to exist.

Polanyi saw himself called to articulate a philosophy of knowledge that would combat these corrosive effects of objectivism. The major work in which he does this is Personal Knowledge: Towards a Post-Critical Philosophy (1958). In the following figure, I summarize and show the relationship among some of his key concepts. Space here does not permit a full elaboration of this thought. I have discussed some of his key ideas in two recent AERC papers (1987 & 1988), and those who are interested in fuller studies would find Gelwick (1977) and Prosch (1986) especially useful. In the following discussion, key words, which have rich meaning that cannot be wholly conveyed here, are underscored.



Polanyi concluded that all knowledge has a dynamic three-part structure. The knower (the first element) indwells a complex set of skills and informational clues, tacit knowledge, which serves as an interpretative framework for probing a focal target and achieving a comprehensive understanding of that target. This understanding, or knowledge, is a personal achievement of the knower, energized by a heuristic striving (Polanyi frequently uses the word passion) to know and understand and emerging from that effort. This personal knowledge is, obviously, fallible. The knower

may have misread some clues, the understanding may not have fully emerged, the interpretative framework may be faulty. But, though it is fallible, this understanding is not arbitrary or subjective. It is bounded on two sides, by the tacit particulars on which the knower relies and by the intent of the knower in seeking a true understanding. Both of these boundaries, which define the limits of responsible knowledge, are nonrational, conative phenomena. They are what Polanyi calls the ubiquitous fiduciary component. Personal knowledge -- that is, rational, responsible knowledge, -- is by this definition inescapably and vitally bound up in and dependent upon these fiduciary elements that are not verifiable. And Polanyi insists that this condition exists for all knowledge, even the most rigorous, empirical scientific knowledge. Science is not objective in the sense that objectivism asserts it is. From the very first step, the selection of subject matter to investigate, science displays a personal (not subjective) interest. Science studies things that are interesting to us as people. If it did not, if it selected its subject matter on a perfectly "objective" basis, it would devote most of its energy to studying interstellar dust, because that is what most of the universe is.

Objectivism errs again, Polanyi argues, in misinterpreting the meaning of the Copernican revolution as a triumph of empiricism. Exactly the opposite is true, he says. There was massive empirical evidence that the sun orbited the earth. Everyone on the planet watched this event daily. The real triumph of objectivity represented in Copernicus was his imaginative leap, reinterpreting the empirical data from a more rational , comprehensive point of view. This was a uniquely human, personal achievement, driven by heuristic passion and bounded by a commitment to both the empirical data and the achievement of a true understanding of their comprehensive meaning. And its truth lay not so much in its empirical verification as in its greater rationality and its greater power than the Ptolemaic cosmology for pointing at further truths.

The problem with objectivism, Polanyi has argued, is that it tries to remove the knower from knowing, trying thereby to remove the fallibility of human judgment. In the place of judgment, it proposes verifiability, or utility, or a variety of other criteria. Polanyi acknowledges that all these, including verifiability, are useful criteria on which to base a judgment: any of these may be highly persuasive. But none can substitute for the essential act of judgment. Knowing cannot exist without the operation of fallible human judgment, and to try to substitute verifiability for judgment is a pseudo-substitution, a way of slipping judgment back in the side door by another, more acceptable, name.

This problem of verification affects each of the philosophical orientations to adult education and influences its aims. The behaviorist accepts the objectivist proposition and its consequences straight on, denying the power of freedom, dignity, judgment--all value-laden concepts--in human affairs. Human actions in organizations and societies are to be manipulated and controlled by the most effective means of reenforcement that behavioral science can bring to bear.

Those who propose a liberal aim for adult education are split in their acceptance of the objectivist insistence on verification and its implications. Some, in particular those coming out of the analytic philosophical tradition, accept it. Others, many on the west side of the Atlantic, reject it. All, in effect, seek their verification in the traditions and artifacts of Western civilization.

There is a wide middle ground, comprising liberals, progressives, and humanists, that rejects, in varying degrees and varying ways, the verification requirement. The humanists, represented by the psychologies of Maslow and Rogers, insist on placing the individual learner/knower at the center of the learning process, recognizing that there is a "third force" (Goble, 1971) empowering learners and that they are not simply at the mercy of empirical verifiability on the one hand or impulse and subjectivity on the other. The progressives likewise assert the crucial role of the active, meaning-making learner. Witness first Bergevin (1967), then Lindeman (1926). Bergevin says that there are two basic ways we can see truth: "1. We can indicate we have an unalterable 'truth,' use educational processes to propagate the 'truth,' and by one means or another bring the learner to a prearranged conclusion. 2. We can indicate that truth is complex, evolving, and difficult to come by; that facts are learned differently by different people because people are different" (18). Lindeman says of facts that "Facts, objectively discovered and described in so far as language and mathematical symbols will permit, are empirically important but not nearly so important in an ultimate sense as the method of their discovery and man's disposition of them in the affairs of the world," and he also notes, "Only the educated specialist naively sees facts as discreet, objective and external units of experience" (15).

The radical position is perhaps best illustrated by Ivan Illich's attack on John Dewey's progressivism in Deschooling Society (1971). Illich sees virtually all aspects of the established order as pernicious. Amont the few exceptions are municipal water and sewers, public parks, postal service, and telephone systems, which gain his approval as "convivial systems." But he condemns schools and highways as "false public utilities," placing schools near prisons in his categories of oppressive institutions. And he looks with scorn upon Dewey's proposal to "make each one of our schools an embryonic community life, active with the types of occupations that reflect the life of the larger society," seeing it as a process of "pacification of the new generation within specially engineered enclaves which will seduce them into the dream world of their elders" (66). Hence, Illich moves to the left from the progressives and humanists epistemologically as well as politically, seeking to make the learner autonomous. Freire embodies a puzzling disjunction of political and epistemological orientations. Like Illich, he sees existing social and political institutions and ideas as oppressive, and he sees the role of adult education as purifying a liberated populace of invasive orthodoxies from the old, oppressive regime. Yet his method is the dialectical method of the progressive and the

humanist, refined and expressed in passionate, poetic terms. The disjunction lies in this: the method is that of seeking the truth, while the political agenda assumes a transmission of a truth that is of the first type defined by Bergevin.

We can now see the problem of objectivism extending clear across the spectrum of adult educaton, both politically and epistemologically. The radical orientation has, just as much as the analytic and the behaviorist orientations, accepted the underlying objectivist assumptions about truth: real, true knowledge is only that which is objectively verifiable; propositions that are not so verifiable cannot attain the status of truth, and all propositions that fail this rigid test are indiscriminately labeled "subjective." And if the proposition that I am in favor of human rights now stands on the same ground with the proposition that I like corn on the cob, then appeals to altruism, at either the individual or the instututional level, are hollow. All also recognize the danger that a corrupt government could take advantage of this epistemological stance by appropriating the status of "truth" for whatever subjective proposition suited its purpose at any given moment. The radicals take the argument one step further: if the ancien regime could have established a corrupt, subjective doctrine as the official line, then it probably did. Therefore the existing orthodoxy is corrupt -- or, at best, highly suspect.

In 1966 Polanyi published "The Message of the Hungarian Revolution," in which he undertook to explain the dynamics of the Hungarian revolution of 1956. In view of glasnost and the events in Europe in 1989, this essay is especially timely again now. Polanyi argues that the Hungarian revolution demonstrated the enduring power of truth when it is allowed, even in a limited way, to be an independent force in public life. He traces the roots of the revolution to February, 1956, when Krushchev denounced Stalin at the Twentieth Party Congress. This was followed, in June in Budapest, by an open rebellion in the Petofi Circle, an official Communist Party organization of leading intellectuals. Polanyi points out that "Marxism-Leninism taught that public consciousness is a superstructure of the underlying relations of production; public thought under socialism, therefore, must be an instrument of the Party controlling Socialist production" (24). This perspective, that the proper function of education is to propagate the official party view and advance the progress and efficiency of the socialist state, is well documented in the literature of adult education of Eastern Europe (see, for example, Savicevic's discussion in Charters, 1981). In June 1956, Polanyi says, the Petofi Circle rejected this doctrine: "They affirmed that truth must be recognized as an independent power in public life. The press must be set free to tell the truth. The murderous trials based on faked charges were to be publicly condemned and their perpetrators punished; the rule of law must be restored. And, above all, the arts corrupted by subservience to the Party must be set free to rouse the imagination and to tell the truth. It was this outbreak that created the centre of opposition which later overthrew the Communist government of Hungary" (24-25). Polanyi rejects the popular sociological explanations of the revolution, arguing that it was a spiritual and intellectual revolution, driven by demands to be able to seek and to speak the truth. The revolution began, he says, the day Stalin died and thirteen doctors who had been sentenced to death "on their own false confessons of murderous attempts agains Stalin and other members of the government" were released. This act by Stalin's successors, an official act of deference to a truth independent of official party doctrine, "had a shattering effect on the Party". The officials in the Kreml believing "their positions would be safer if they had more truth on their side and less against them . . . sacrificed the most powerful weapon of terror for this end -- the weapon of faked trials; no such trial was held in the Soviet empire after the Jewish doctors were set free. A radical change of the foundations had begun" (27). Kruschev's denunciation of the faked trials of the Stalin regime was then followed by the demands of the Hungarian Communist writers to be able to tell the truth about other trials.

To try to explain the Hungarian Revolution without reference to questions of moral judgment -- to explain it as a function simply of sociological or economic forces -- is, Polanyi says, to misread its message. The real message of the Hungarian Revolution, he says, was a rebuttal of the proposition, that the question, "What is a good society?" belongs not in the social sciences but in "social theology": "[W]hat the revolution in Hungary -- and the whole movement of thought of which it formed a part -- declared was a doctrine of political science in the traditional sense of the term. The movement condemned a society in which thought -- the thought of science, morality, art, justice, religion -- is not recognized as an autonomous power. It rejected life in such a society as corrupt, suffocating and stupid. This was clearly to raise, and to answer up to a point, the question 'What is a good society?' It was to establish a doctrine of political science" (35).

Polanyi would undoubtedly see the current democratic ferment in Eastern Europe, and the glasnost which has fed it, as confirming -- verifying, if you wish -- the message of the Hungarian revolution. Unlike the British analytical philosophy of adult education, this post-critical philosophy does not see the process of adult education as poltically neutral. Rather, it sees any proposition as inherently value-laden because it recognizes all knowledge as inherently value-laden, the product of a responsible, personal act of integration. And on the other hand, because it recognizes the personal character of all knowledge, this post-critical view of adult education recognizes that programs of adult learning must hear the message of the Hungarian revolution and resist the temptation to subserve any party line, whether in support of an existing government or in opposition to an existing government. Rather, the post-critical philosophy calls for a program of adult leaning that advances the seeking and telling of the truth, and its political agenda is simply a call for a society that supports this process.

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"Adult Education, Social Reconstruction and the New Deal"

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Abstract: Adult educators were not immune to the social and political upheaval that accompanied the Depression of the 1930s. The American Association for Adult Education confronted the uncertainty by advocating a particular role for adult education in society. The result was an adult education that was, at best, a handmaiden to social change and a domain for an emerging core of specialists.

Morse Cartwright and Frederick Keppel realized that their efforts since 1924 might come to naught. Cartwright, as Director of the American Association for Adult Education (AAAE), and Keppel, President of the Carnegie Corporation of New York, were attempting to forge a unity in the midst of a diverse and ill-defined field called "adult education."[1] During the 1930s they, along with other adult educators, were confronted with the long unemployment lines of the Depression, calls for the social transformation of American industrial society, and the largest federal experiment in adult education to date. In the midst of the political and social upheaval of the Depression years, the AAAE's leadership promoted their own solution to nationwide unemployment, a solution premised on a particular notion of the role of adult education in society.

I've examined a variety of primary source material including the files of the Carnegie Corporation of New York, the papers of James Russell of Teachers College, Columbia University, and those of Lyman Bryson, housed at the Library of Congress. My study assumes that the institutional context of the AAAE acted as a stage upon which the needs of a society, in the midst of an economic depression, interacted with the norms, ideas and methods of adult education.[2] I'm also assuming that the creation and generation of knowledge regarding adult education were collective activities. Individuals thought and expressed their thoughts within a matrix of intellectual traditions and social institutions.[3] Finally, I'm assuming that as the Association expressed and defended its interests, it in turn defined the boundaries of the knowledge which it purported to represent.

Morse Cartwright had seen enough. He confided in Lyman Bryson that it was time for the "liberals in education to step out and to strike quite hard at these radical extremists." Cartwright was alluding to a small group of educators known as the social reconstructionists.[4] George Counts, Goodwin Watson, Jesse Newlon and Harold Rugg were calling upon fellow educators and, in particular the Progressive Education Association (PEA), to join them in utilizing the school as an agency for social transformation. They criticized fellow educators for their lack of social theory and capitalism for its selfishness and oppression. As far as they were concerned educators at both the national and local levels were unconsciously buttressing the existing distribution of power and wealth. They went on to define a new type of school, one that not only cultivated

openmindedness among its pupils but motivated them to social action. The social reconstructionists' message fell on receptive ears. Teachers were becoming disillusioned with the tarnished image of business and economic individualism and had arrived at the conclusion that business leaders were behind proposals for further economies in and reduced funding of education.[5]

Harold Rugg, an active member of the Progressive Education Association (PEA), extended a invitation to the AAAE to assist in their movement. Rugg interpreted the Depression, not as simply another economic downturn of temporary nature but as clear evidence that American industrial society was on the verge of a new social-economic age. He believed that it was urgent for adult educators to enlist the public in a nation-wide campaign of discussion on social-economic reconstruction. Rugg argued that unless such a campaign took place, the new age would not be grounded in a political democracy. He called upon national organizations working in adult education to join in the campaign, looking to the AAAE for leadership.[6] Cartwright and Keppel were invited to a PEA meeting in New York to discuss the proposal. Both refused to attend, sending Mary Ely, Editor of the Journal of Adult Education in their place. Neither Cartwright or Keppel were surprised with Ely's subsequent assessment of the meeting. In her opinion this rather prestigious group of educators was "well-meaning but thoroughly impractical." The AAAE Director dismissed the group concluding that nothing of consequence would result.[7]

Though Cartwright ultimately proved correct in his prognostication, Rugg did not give up easily. He reported to his PEA colleagues that the AAAE did not envision his proposal as "within their proper functions." He then called for a national clearinghouse of civic, scholastic, religious and research organizations that would promote, among the adult population, an understanding of present economic and social problems.[8] Rugg put forth a resolution establishing such a clearinghouse at the PEA's Annual Conference in Cleveland during early March of 1934. Several leading adult educators were invited to discuss the resolution including Lyman Bryson, John Studebaker and Hilda Smith. Cartwright again chose not to attend, doubting whether he would be welcome, and thinking that Rugg's scheme was far flung and over-ambitious. Bryson later described the meeting as a "dogfight", participants split over the question of adult education and political action.[9] Rugg's resolution was not passed. It was instead referred to the PEA's Executive Committee which effectively killed the measure. Two months later Rugg asked to be relieved of his duties as Chairman of the PEA's Committee on adult education.[10]

Though Rugg's resolution failed, Cartwright still felt the necessity to strike back at the "radical extremists", choosing as the means his 1933-34 annual report. Cartwright, departing from his stated policy of simply reflecting "what is" in adult education, aligned himself with what he considered to be the delicate, unpopular and yet centrist position of the educational "liberal." Having previously criticized educators for their mental colic, Cartwright now called for a plague on their "talk

of revolution." Granting the dominance of "social order" as the educational theme of his day, he differed with the social reconstructionists as to its cause. Cartwright linked educators' interest in social order to a shift in favor of the social sciences away from the humanities, rather than grounding it in the economic conditions of the Depression. Cartwright argued that changes in the social order were gradual, a product of experimentation rather than the efforts of educators. Given this notion of social change the role of adult education was to shorten the time of transition in, rather than in the creation of, a new social order. He called on fellow educators to get on with the "serious business" of education, concluding that the same task remained before them, that of "improving the means of diffusion of knowledge and understanding" among the populace.[11]

Cartwright's efforts at defining the role of adult education in society were not limited to rhetoric. During the fall of 1932, the Association put before a local relief committee a proposal outlining a diagnostic and retraining project for New York City's unemployed. The project, known as the New York Adjustment Service, was to help the unemployed find work and prevent the deterioration of their morale. Its key premise was that "adult education applied without benefit of individual examination could not be expected to result either in increased vocational efficiency or in the upbuilding of morale." Cartwright, in writing the proposal, assumed that it was possible to find jobs that would "fit" individual talents. The three interlocking pieces of psychological testing, economic trend analysis and job training were key to determining a good fit. The Corporation, which had funded the emergency relief committee in the previous year, made any new grant conditional on the approval of the Adjustment Service. Not surprisingly the committee approved the proposal.[12]

While the primary purpose of the Adjustment Service was to address the problem of New York City's unemployed, Keppel and Cartwright also saw the project's potential significance in shaping federal policy.[13] As soon as they were given an opportunity to define the national agenda they balked, quickly extricating themselves and the Association from a formal advisory role. The New York City program was implemented in cooperation with State authorities under Governor Roosevelt's administration. Roosevelt's election as President in 1933 provided the personal contacts which the AAAE needed to influence national policy. While Cartwright had initially seen Senator Wagner of New York and Labor Secretary Frances Perkins, as their means of access to the new administration, it was Jerome Bentley of the YMCA and Director of the Adjustment Service, who provided the necessary contact.[14] Bentley met with U.S. Commissioner of Education, George Zook and Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA) Director Harry Hopkins in separate meetings on September 13, 1933. Both Zook and Hopkins informed Bentley that the FERA was about to broaden its mandate to employ, "needy unemployed persons" in the teaching of others who were also unemployed. They agreed with Bentley that a program, such as the New York project, should be a part of the federal relief efforts and

sought the advice of the AAAE. Cartwright was invited to attend a policy forming committee meeting held in Washington on October 11, 1933.[15]

Cartwright phoned Keppel the following day and expressed his misgivings. Both were concerned about the ambiguous relationship between the relief and educational aspects of the proposed FERA program. Keppel made his concern quite clear in a letter to Hopkins, frankly stating his understanding that while the relief side of the program was well-developed, the principles and policies on the educational side of the equation were not. He went on to suggest that given the nature of relief, he doubted whether "worth-while educational projects could be set up," concluding that a hastily developed federal program might set back the cause of adult education by ten years. Hopkins' response was equally frank. He made it clear that while the FERA program would be administered in light of educational standards, it was and would remain a relief project. Hopkins promised that educators would be consulted but that ultimately grants would be rewarded in light of their relief value. Keppel, Cartwright and the Executive Committee of the AAAE had seen enough. They agreed that the Association could informally advise the FERA, but that it should steer clear of entering a formal arrangement.[16]

Cartwright "informally" advised federal authorities but he ultimately emerged as a vocal critic of the New Deal. His criticisms reflected a concern over what constituted "worth-while" education and suggest an emerging expert knowledge among adult educators. Cartwright joined with other educators in criticizing the New Dealers for ignoring their educational expertise. Initially their criticism was leveled at the discrepancy that, while their advice was sought, educators did not have authority to approve or withhold funds for projects in light of their educational value. Their criticisms increased when John Studebaker, U.S. Commissioner of Education, tried unsuccessfully to have the National Youth Administration and the Works Progress Administration placed under his jurisdiction.[17]

Cartwright distanced himself from other educators, however, by drawing certain boundaries around adult education. He concurred with John C. Merriam, Corporation Trustee, that the federal program was simply an extension of schooling into the realm of adult education. Cartwright and his supporters had opposed this since the formation of the Association. They had argued that adult education was distinct in light of its intent, method and audience. Cartwright's fear was that the federal subsidies would extend "on a huge scale...those forms and manifestations of adult education which are of the least enduring value."[18] While Cartwright agreed with educators in criticizing the caliber of the New Deal teachers, he disagreed with them over who should do the teaching. Educators were upset that the New Deal hired individuals without the requisite credentials that testified to their formal training. Cartwright was critical of the caliber of the New Deal teachers as well but for different reason. Teaching adults was an altogether different enterprise than teaching children. He and Keppel had argued this point early on with Hopkins, coming out in favor of hiring individuals

to teach who were not professional teachers. They made it clear that such individuals needed to be trained in the ways of teaching adults but that such individuals should be employed. In fact they argued against hiring teachers to teach adults simply because they were unemployed school professionals. Cartwright, in his later criticisms, voiced his opinion that the federal authorities had forgotten his advice.[19]

While the social reconstructionists failed in their attempt to transform the social order and the New Deal ultimately gave way to World War II, a particular notion of adult education's role in society was on the way of becoming firmly established. For some, particularly those represented by the AAAE's leadership, adult education was at best a handmaiden to social change. While they argued that theirs was a middle ground between radical and conservative, the AAAE's program for New York's unemployed suggested something different. Adult education was an activity that adjusted individuals to changing trends in the economy and equipped them to understand themselves as persons in need of being wedded to particular jobs. Adult education was also beginning to emerge as a domain of specialists. In contrast to educators in general, the AAAE's expertise was grounded in its relationship to a private philanthropy and not to a particular occupational group. This allowed the Association to side with educators in some of their criticisms of the New Dealers while at the same time highlight the differences between adult educators and educators in general. Theirs was a different enterprise than that of their school counterparts, one that required specialized ways of knowing and doing.

NOTES

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17 Tyack, et. al. 1984; Zeitlin, 1958.

18 John C. Merriam to Cartwright, 2 Dec. 1933; Cartwright to Merriam, 4 Dec. 1933.

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Peter the Great: A Social - Historical Analysis of Self-Education Principles

Huey B. Long*

Abstract: This study was designed to determine if twentieth century principles of self-directed learning as identified by Gibbons and others (1980) are reflected in the self-directed learning of Peter the Great. The theoretical implications are derived from the question of historical (macro-social) relationships to self-directed learning principles. Of 14 principles identified by Gibbons and others, ten are clearly evident in the life of Peter the Great. Two are less clear and two are least obvious.

Self-education (self-ed), also referred to as self-directed learning (sdl), is an increasingly popular topic of inquiry. Numerous approaches have been used to study the topic (Cafarella and O'Donnell, 1988). However, the social context as a variable in sdl has received limited attention. Social context may be conceptualized at two levels: macro and micro. The macro approach to social contextual analysis is concerned with the larger cultural social framework in which self-directed learning occurs. The micro approach is concerned with interpersonal primary relationships and concerns. For example a macro approach is concerned with such broad issues as the developmental stage of a national culture, wider mores and customs that typify a period of time and a geographic range. In contrast, the micro approach examines family, work and recreational settings and the interpersonal relationships that exist from setting to setting.

The broader problem with which this research is concerned is the relationship among culture, social behavior and personality. More specifically, the research question focuses on the relationship of the above factors and sdl or self-ed. The narrow purpose of this research is to determine if the principles of self-ed as identified by Gibbons, et.al (1980) based on the biographies of twentieth century Americans and a few Europeans, apply to the self-ed of the seventeenth century Russian Czar Peter the Great.

Significance

The research is significant in that it is among the first, if not the first study, to examine the temporal and social contextual issues in self-ed. The inquiry addresses the theoretical question, are principles such as those

*This research was supported by the Oklahoma Research Center for Continuing Professional and Higher Education, College Education, University of Oklahoma.

proposed by Gibbons and his colleagues (1980) timeless and more or less culture free? Or, do different principles apply to different time periods and to different social settings? If they are persistent, what are their origins? personal or social? If there is partial agreement how does one account for the differences across time and social contexts?

Answers to the above questions have practical significance as well. For example, Gibbons et.al identified implications for teaching arising out of their fourteen principles. If the principles vary with time and context the implications will vary accordingly.

Method and Data Sources

An analytical research method was used in this study. Gibbons, et.al (1980) and Massie (1981) provide the basic data for analysis. Gibbons et.al provide fourteen principles of self-ed based on their study of biographies of twenty experts without formal training. Massie provides a detailed biography of Peter the Great, the famous Russian Czar, who drove Mother Russia into the European Enlightenment. Massie's description of Peter's development from infancy to his early death was studied for comments concerning Peter's behavior, experiences, personality and self-ed. Identified comments were recorded, classified and then compared and contrasted with principles reported by Gibbons and his colleagues.

Gibbons, et.al (1980) identified 14 principles of self-education that were derived from the analysis of twenty twentieth century individuals who became expert without formal training. Table 1 displays the individuals studied.

TABLE 1. The Subjects: 20 People Who Became Expert without Formal Training

1.	Virginia Woolf	11.	H. L. Mencken
2.	Charlie Chaplin	12.	Aaron Copeland
3.	Harry S. Truman	13.	Pablo Picasso
4.	Frank Lloyd Wright	14.	John L. Lewis
5.	Walt Disney	15.	Gerald Durrell
6.	George Bernard Shaw	16.	Ralph Edwards
7.	Wibur Wright	17.	Amelia Earhart
8.	Will Rogers	18.	Henry Ford
9.	Muhammad Ali	19.	Malcolm X
10.	Harry Houdini	20.	Eric Hoffer

The 14 principles listed by Gibbons et.al (1980) include both principles and strategies (Long and Agyekum, 1990) for teaching. Space does not permit a listing of the principles, however, the related principles are identified in the findings by a number that corresponds with Gibbons' principles.

Findings

Ten of the principles identified by Gibbons, et.al clearly are evident in the self-education of Peter the Great. They are principles 1,3,4,5,7,9,10,11,12 and 13. Two principles, 2 and 6, are partially revealed in Peter's activities. Finally, two principles, 8 and 14, seem to be least evident in the self-ed of Peter the Great.

It is interesting that the above principles appear to fall in three different classifications. The principles most evident in Peter's life seem to be those related to personality. The two principles that are less evident are concerned with breadth of content or interest. Finally the two principles least evident in Peter's life are related to philosophical values.

Discussion

Massie's (1981) biography reveals that the Czar, from early childhood, maintained the locus of control (principle 1) in most activities for most of his life. He had an understanding tutor who let him set the learning agenda. As absolute autocrat in adult life he usually had his way.

His learning interests usually focused on what Gibbons, et.al (1980) called applied education (principle 2). For example, he was interested in ship building, fortifications and military strategy (principle 3). It is obvious that he was self-motivated (principle 4). He set his own curriculum, studying what interested him at the time of his choosing.

Peter the Great's learning seemed to have been inspired by a vision of what he hoped to accomplish (principle 5). His unparalleled embassy to Europe was designed to contribute to his goal of modernizing Russia. Similarly his designs to gain access to the Mediterranean Sea were visionary efforts.

The Czar had a unique or highly personal learning pattern (principle 7). He was not particularly noted for reading. Yet, he was an extremely curious and observant person who recorded his observations in notebooks. In summary, he learned through observation and practice. Today, he would be described as a tactile and concrete learner.

Peter exhibited great independence from childhood to death. Only his mother and one personal friend could significantly influence his ideas and behavior (principle 9). He personally imposed his own radical ideas on a reactionary nation. Despite the traditional significance of religion in Russian thought, Peter was extremely liberal in his attitudes toward the Church. Many of his behaviors bordered on blasphemy.

As noted previously, Peter was not a heavy reader. But he employed other process skills (principle 10) such as observation, sketching, doing, and listening. These skills emerged in Peter's life as self-ed became an observable theme.

Peter was a gregarious person who developed close, warm relationships with a variety of individuals from his childhood tutor, Nikita Zotov, to his Scottish General Patrick Gordon to Francis Lefort and a coterie of friends referred to as the Jolly Company (principle 12). He was extremely loyal to his closest associates to the point of permitting them to abuse his friendship.

Two of Gibbons' principles less evident in the Czar's life are concerned with a specialization on a given topic in a particular field of endeavor (principles 2 and 6). Only by employing the most generous classification scheme could it be suggested that Peter the Great's expertise was in one area. His interests ranged across politics, military strategy, sailing, ship building, currency reform and so forth.

The two principles least evident in Peter's biography are concerned with philosophical values such as integrity, self-discipline, altruism, sensitivity to others, strong guiding principles, development of a mature personality and self-actualization (principles 8 and 14). Peter often was devious, self-centered and barbaric. He would not be confused with Ghandi or Switzer.

Many of the principles of self-ed as proposed by Gibbons, et.al seem to have applied to Peter the Great. Given the apparent social difference between twentieth century United States and Western Europe and seventeenth century Russia the persistence of the principles is noteworthy. Not only are the principles generally evident across time and culture they also persist across social station. For example, Harry Truman, Will Rogers and Muhammad Ali occupied a level of society quite different from that of the Russian Czar.

Subtle differences as they relate to the social/personal philosophical value system exist. These differences, such as Peter's barbarianism, may be an artifact of time, position and circumstance. Yet, they provide a provocative contrast to other attributes frequently associated with self-directed learners. Peter

was most barbaric in his obsession to protect the throne and to extend Russian sovereignty. His role in the execution of his son, Alexis, serves as an excellent example. In his scale of values his concern for power outweighed more humane and benevolent acts. While it is possible for autocrats to manifest benevolence, despotism is more likely.

Perhaps the most important implication of the study resides in the significance of important others and the freedom they gave to Peter in early childhood. His youth was characterized by an extremely close relationship with his mother and an open supportive environment provided by his tutor. These personal/social characteristics frequently are obvious in the lives of modern self-directed learners.

Conclusions

Based on Massie's (1981) biography of Peter the Great, it is concluded that many of the principle sof self-ed as developed by Gibbons, et.al (1980) are nto greatly dependent upon the social context. Thus, in macro-terms, social context may not be overly significant in the development of a self-directed learning orientation. Micro-level contexts may be more critical in the development of a pattern of self-ed.

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WORK, LOVE, AND LEARNING IN ADULT LIFE

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Abstract: Working and loving, broadly defined, are the two central social and psychological forces that shape an adult's life. The purpose of this study was to examine how these two domains interact, and how the interaction is related to learning in adult life.

Introduction

When asked what it meant to be a mature human being, Freud is reported to have said that maturity is the capacity to work and to love. Certainly these are the central social and psychological forces in adult life, and they have been studied extensively, usually separately, although recent attention has been given to how to balance the two. There has been little research, however, on the interaction of the two domains. For example, do things need to be going well in both arenas for one to feel productive? Do activity and energy in one area stimulate activity in the other? Or is the energy devoted to one at the expense of the other? It is the interaction between the domains of love and work which forms the basic question of our study.

There is the further question of how this interaction is related to learning in adult life. Participation studies indicate that life transitions account for a significant portion of adult learning experiences. And developmental research builds on the learnings that occur through engagement with particular life events and the accumulation of life experience. How do all these experiences of learning relate to the two domains of work and love? Does more learning occur during periods of change or during periods of stability? These questions are also addressed in our study.

Previous Research

The most extensive discussion of the concepts of work and love is provided by Smelser and Erikson (1980). Chapters in this book explore the concepts from Freudian, historical, and cross-cultural perspectives. Most studies, however, address the development of the domains and their manifestation in adulthood, with particular focus on achieving a balance between the two. Expecially relevant to our study is the empirical research on the development of the domains and on the interaction of love and work in adulthood. Much of the adulthood research is on women. Nieva and Gutek (1981) in their review of research on women and work found that one domain does not "make up" for the other; rather, each "spills over" and affects the other. They conclude that "the way in which one negotiates the interdependence of work and family affects satisfaction with each of the domains as well as overall life satisfaction" (p. 40). In a study of women's identity formation, Josselson (1987) found that "women do not leave their 'relating' selves behind when they go to work," and "if women bring relatedness to the workplace, they also bring working to relationships" (pp. 183, 184). Baruch, Barnett and Rivers (1983) studied 300 women to find out what contributed to their sense of well-being. They found that employed, married women with children had a high sense of well-being, achieving a sense of mastery from their work, and a sense of pleasure from their relationships. They conclude that both love and work are of "fundamental importance...to a woman's mental and emotional well-being. When either is ignored, a

person's development becomes lopsided" (p. 15). Studies of men have tended to focus on career development. Vaillant's (1977) longitudinal study of Harvard men is something of an exception. The guiding question of his study was what constituted good mental health. Success at working and loving separated the "Best Outcomes" from the "Worst Outcomes" in the study; those with the best mental health had "sustained relationships with loving people" and achieved in their work (p. 337).

While these studies tend to underscore the importance of attending to both arenas of one's life, they do not directly focus on the interaction of love and work, that is, whether there are identifiable patterns, and whether these patterns differ for men and women, or for adults in different stages of life. The purpose of this study was to identify patterns of interaction of love and work and to determine whether these patterns are gender or stage-specific. We were also interested in the number of learning events by pattern, and when, in relation to the interaction of work and love, significant learning experiences are most likely to occur.

Methodology

Both quantitative and qualitative data were collected in order to deal with the above research questions. First, a two-page instrument was developed by the researchers. On the first page, respondents were asked to list, in two columns, major life events by year, beginning with 1969 (or the year they turned 18). In the left-hand column work-specific events, defined as "noteworthy work experiences, paid or volunteer; formal education," were listed by year. In the right-hand column, love-related events, defined as "interpersonal relationships, family events; social life; leisure activities," were listed by year. Respondents were then asked to assess whether the year had been good, OK, or bad with respect to each domain. For example, for the year 1976 one respondent wrote "dropped out of college" under the work column and rated it as bad; in the love column of the same year the respondent wrote "married" and rated it as good. Respondents were then asked to graph these data, with time as the horizontal axis and the evaluation of good, OK or bad as the vertical axis. The result is a dual-vector visual representation of each respondent's pattern of love and work. On the second page of the instrument, respondents were asked to identify significant learning events, the year of occurence, and what made the event significant. Other questions on this page asked the respondent's age, sex, race, occupation and level of education. This instrument provided the quantitative data of the study, results of which are reported herein. Qualitative data were collected through interviews of selected respondents. Results of the qualitative data analysis are reported elsewhere (Merriam and Clark, in press).

The two-page instrument described above was pilot tested with two groups of adult education professors participating in a career development workshop at the University of Wisconsin, and with two classes of graduate students enrolled in adult development and learning courses. Professors who had participated in the career development workshops administered the instrument to adults in graduate or continuing education courses in North America.

Sample. The sample consists of 405 adults ranging in age from 20 to 58. The average age of the participants is 37.6 years. Of the total sample, 112 or 27.7% are men and 213 or 72.3%

are women. The sample is predominatey white (81%) and well educated (80% have had some graduate work).

Data Analysis. Data analysis was conducted in two stages. In the first stage, three major love and work patterns were inductively derived from analyzing the individual graphs displaying the interaction of the two domains. Prototype descriptions of the three patterns were developed. A panel of three (the two researchers and a research assistant) independently assigned a pattern type to each instrument. There was total agreement among the three raters on the work/love pattern for 275 or 67.9% of the instruments. Two out of the three raters assigned the same pattern type to 130 or 32.1% of the instruments. Out of 416 instruments, there was no pattern agreement on five. These were eliminated from the sample as were six others deemed not usable due to missing data.

The second stage of analysis consisted of computing the chi-square statistic to determine if the work/love pattern differed by sex or life stage. Life stages were formed by collapsing chronological age into three categories: young adulthood (20-30); the thirties (31-40); and middle age (41-58). The mean age of each group was 25.6, 35.4, and 48, respectively. Due to the exploratory nature of this study, a .05 level of significance was used. Significant learning events were summed for each respondent and each event was coded to reflect its occurence on the work/love graph. For example, the year that a significant learning event occurred might have been when work was rated "good" and love was rated "OK." There were nine such permutations (see Table 2). The number of learning events for each of the nine work/love permutations was calculated, as was the mean number of learning events for each of the three pattern types and three life stages. A one-way analysis of variance was used to determine if there were significant differences in the number of learning events by pattern-type and by life stage.

Results

Pattern-Type: Three broad patterns of interaction between the work and love domains were detected in our data. There is a parallel pattern (n = 158) (Fig. 1) in which work and love vectors move together; change in one domain is reflected by change in the other. In the second pattern-type (n = 107) (Fig. 2), one domain remains steady while the other fluctuates. The third pattern (n = 140) (Fig. 3) is one of divergence; if one is high, the other is low, and the vectors seem to flow independent of or in opposition to each other.

FIGURE 1. PARALLEL

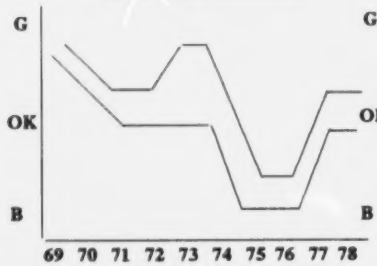


FIGURE 2. STEADY/FLUCTUATING

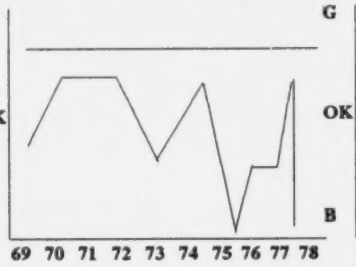
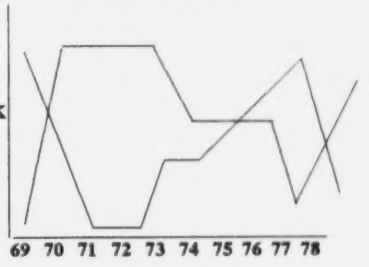


FIGURE 3. DIVERGENT



Sex and Life Stage: In the chi-square analysis of these three pattern types and sex, the obtained chi-square statistic of 2.17 (df = 2) was not significant. In the pattern by life stage

analysis, a chi-square statistic of 11.37 (df = 4) was significant at the .02 level. Among young adults (18-30), there was a disproportionate number of parallel pattern types. The thirties (31-40) exhibited a disproportionate number of divergent pattern types; and the middle-age (41-58) group was characterized by a disproportionate number of steady/fluctuating pattern types.

Learning Events: To determine whether there were differences in the number of significant learning events by pattern-type or life stage, one-way analyses of variance were calculated. The difference in the mean number of learning events by pattern was not significant. However, as shown in Table 1, there is a significant difference ($p < .002$) in the mean number of learning events by life stage. For young adults the mean number of learning events is 3.0; for the thirty-year-olds the mean is 4.2; for the middle age adults the mean number of learning events is 3.9. A Tukey post hoc analysis revealed that the young adults differed significantly from both the thirty-year-olds and the mid-life adults.

Table 1. Means, Standard Deviations, and One-Way Analysis of Variance Results for Life Stage and Learning Events.

	Life Stage		
Variable	Young Adults	The Thirties	Mid-life Adults
N	95	167	143
Learning Events			
M	3.0	4.2	3.9
SD	1.9	2.6	2.7
$F = 6.44$	$df = 2$	$m^2 = 41.42$	$p < .002$

Learning events were also coded as to where they occurred within each person's graph. Table 2 presents the number of learning events for each of the nine possible combinations of good, OK, and bad annual evaluations of work and love domains. The greatest number of learning events (600) occurred when both work and love were rated "good." When both domains were rated "OK", 112 learning events were reported. When things were going badly in both domains, only 63 events occurred. It is interesting to note that when work was rated good, and love rated OK or bad, more learning events occurred than when love was rated good (and work rated OK or bad).

Table 2. Number of Significant Learning Events for Nine Work and Love Ratings.

Learning Event			Learning Event			Learning Event		
Work	Love	Total	Work	Love	Total	Work	Love	Total
Good	Good	600	OK	Good	131	Bad	Good	59
Good	OK	231	OK	OK	112	Bad	OK	140
Good	Bad	325	OK	Bad	96	Bad	Bad	63

Discussion

This study sought to identify patterns of work and love in adult life, and explore the relationship of these patterns to episodes of significant learning. From graphs drawn using annual ratings of good, OK, and bad for work and love domains, three dominant patterns of interaction were identified (parallel, steady/fluctuating, and divergent). Although previous research might suggest that these patterns would be unequally distributed by sex (i.e. women would be more parallel, men more steady/fluctuating), no sex differences were found. Life stage did make a difference, however. Parallel patterns were more prevalent in young adulthood than would have happened by chance. This makes intuitive sense, as young adults are striving to establish themselves in both work and love-related arenas. The period between 31 and 40 years had significantly more divergent patterns. In this pattern the two domains are predominantly independent of one another, and we would expect those in their 30's to be concentrating on one domain at a time. The middle age sample exhibited more stable/fluctuating patterns; that is, one domain, either work or love, is steady while the other fluctuates. This also is what we might expect since by this stage of life either one's career (and the "stable" line was predominatly work in this sample) or love relationships have stabilized.

Young adult respondents reported significantly fewer learning events than did thirty-year-olds or mid-life adults. This would be expected given the shorter time period to have experienced significant learning. Interestingly, the mean number of learning events reported by thirty-year-olds was greater (but not significantly so) than the mean number for middle aged respondents (4.2 versus 3.9). Not surprisingly, this age group is also characterized by more divergent work/love patterns than the other two life stages. Apparently these transition years wherein the two domains operate independently or in opposition to each other provides the climate for a greater number of significant learning events to occur. In light of this finding, it is somewhat puzzling that in looking at the nine individual intersections of good, bad, and OK ratings of love and work domains, the vast majority of learning takes place when things are going well in both domains (suggesting a more stable period of life than the thirties appear to be). However, one intersection (good-good) does not reveal much about a person's overall pattern. Furthermore, the fact that more learning events occur when work is good (regardless of the love domain), suggests that work must be going well for one to attend to learning and/or that much of the learning is work-related. In fact 822 learning events were categorized as work-related, versus 549 love-related. This finding may be due to the nature of the study sample. For the most part, respondents, both men and women, were highly educated and in graduate or continuing education programs.

In summary, this study represents a first step in better understanding the interaction of the two primary forces of love and work in adult life. Of particular interest to adult educators is understanding how learning is a function of this interaction. The findings of this study are of course a product of the methodology employed and the sample obtained. Remembering significant life events, rating entire years as good, bad, or OK, and then delinating a predominate pattern of interaction may obfuscate the complexities involved in studying this phenomenon. Finally, the results of this study are limited in generalizability due to the nature of the convenience sample used.

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A Transformation Theory of Adult Learning

Jack Mezirow

THIS PAPER EXPLAINS THE DYNAMICS OF ADULT LEARNING WITH EMPHASIS ON THE CARDINAL ROLES OF PERCEPTUAL AND COGNITIVE CODES AND RATIONAL DISCOURSE IN CONSTRUING MEANING, IN PERSPECTIVE TRANSFORMATION AND IN ADULT EDUCATION.

Transformation theory is a theory of adult learning addressed to educators. It assumes that by adulthood we already have assimilated a set beliefs about the world, other people and ourselves. These belief systems serve as "boundary structures" for perceiving and comprehending new data. They become our frames of reference or "meaning perspectives," and they profoundly effect how, what and why we learn.

They make adult learning distinctive from learning in childhood. The latter is heavily weighted by the process of children acquiring the culturally prescribed values and beliefs considered essential to become a fully responsible adult, *i.e.* learning through the process of socialization. In modern societies, adulthood becomes a time when we can become fully capable of critically examining these taken-for-granted belief systems. This transformative learning is the most significant developmental task of adulthood. It makes it possible for us to move from one level, stage or phase of development to another, become emancipated from our constraining habits of expectation and move to a perspective that permits interpretations which are more inclusive, differentiating, permeable and integrative of experience. The move to a transformed perspective enables us to see how dependency producing and oppressive institutionalized social practices, norms and cultural codes must be changed through social action. It appears that one acquires the ability to become fully reflective only in adulthood.

Learning may be understood as *the process of construing and appropriating a new or a revised interpretation of the meaning of one's experience as a guide to action.* No conscious experience is free from interpretation, indeed, to have an experience means that we have identified its content, *i.e.* we have construed its meaning.

WHAT YOU HAVE IN MIND

A strong case can be made to support the contention that we construe our experience through internalized **symbolic models** which serve as categories for interpreting the objects, events or states which we perceive, just as a clanging bell can symbolize a fire with help on the way or the

blindfolded woman with the scales symbolizes justice. We imaginatively *project* such symbolic models to give meaning to objects, events and states which we experience. There are three elements involved in making meaning through speech interaction: the habituated symbol system embodying the ideal types of models, the instance in the mind and the external stimuli. The idealized symbol system is projected on the external stimuli to form the image in the mind. What is perceived are the qualities and features which the symbol system imposed on the perceived object, and it is this "loaded" perception which is objectified thorough speech. Thus language is a system of ideal objects in the form of signs, and it has no direct relationship to the objects and events of the external world.

Remembering involves *a reconstrual of the way we imaginatively projected these symbols to make meaning when we encountered similar sense experiences earlier.* We recognize objects and events as similar to those which we have previously interpreted. We remember best when the original interpretation of our sense experience involved strong feeling or has been reinforced by subsequent use.

Symbolic models fulfill diverse functions. The most prominant are to: (1) guide our interpretations of direction, dimension and sequence which enables us to differentiate time, space, cause, effect, syntax and event punctuation; (2) provide "basic level categories", like "mother," "play," "sleep," "dog," "hot," and "food;" which we use as constructs, (3) provide a coherent context within which to define words and (4) serve as coordinates for plotting where events fall on value continua like good-bad, just-unjust and others.

Our imaginative symbolic projections are ordered and may be distorted by *habitual systems of expectation* which act as perceptual and conceptual codes. These boundary structures are what I have called **meaning perspectives**, defined as *the structure of assumptions within which one's past experience assimilates and transforms new experience.* What we do and do not perceive, comprehend, learn, feel and remember is determined by meaning perspectives. I have identified three overlapping categories of meaning perspective.

One is *epistemic* involving developmental stage perspectives, cognitive/learning/intelligence styles, sensory learning preferences, reification, the frequency of an event required to identify a pattern, narrowness or expansiveness of awareness, external/internal criteria for evaluation, thinking concretely/abstractly and others. A second is *psychic*, involving parental prohibitions resulting from a traumatic childhood encounter which become submerged from consciousness yet continue to influence adult behavior through feelings of often intense anxiety resulting in inhibitions, psychological defenses and dysfunctional psychic needs. Psychoanalytic theory addresses these psychic distortions. A third, *socio-*

linguistic involves social ideologies, norms and roles, cultural and language codes, secondary socialization, prototypes, scripts as well as intentionally learned philosophies and theories.

Meaning perspectives selectively order and delimit the perception and comprehension of new data and the recollection of prior learning. In perception, we tend to trade off diminished attention to avoid the anxiety attendant upon encountering events which do not comfortably fit our habits of expectation. This often leads to self-deception and shared illusions. Uncritically assimilated meaning perspectives acquired in childhood often become unreliable and distorting in adulthood.

There are four contexts to which we must attend to understand learning. One is the meaning perspective or frame of reference through which we construe reality. A second is the process of communication - language mastery, the codes which delimit categories, constructs and labels and the way in which problematic assertions are validated. The third involves **a line of action** which brings intention, purpose and will to bear on both perception and cognition. The fourth is the situation encountered by the learner.

COMPREHENSION

The basic processes which are acted upon between perception and interpretive cognition are **scanning,** which involves exploring differentiating, remembering, feeling, intuiting and imagining and **construing,** involving the process of schematization, metaphor, metonymy and categorization. There are two interdependent forms of construing. One pertains to construing immediate appearances in terms of spacial-temporal wholes, distinct processes and presences - an entity is construed from its unique form or movement or its form is construed from serial occurances or its shape or size construed by its appearance. A second form of construal involves experiencing things in terms of concepts and categories that come with our mastery of language, although we do not necessarily consciously name or describe to ourselves what we construe.

Making an **interpretation** involves *making a decision* pertaining to a meaning scheme. Meaning schemes are specific beliefs shaped by a meaning perspective. They are concrete interpretions of our habitual orientation, like what we believe a Frenchman or a Jew is like, what a display of feeling means, what values pertain to an action, what to do about a cut finger or how we interpret the meaning of a painting, abortion, the death penalty or the proper roles of student and teacher. We may simply take satisfaction from a meaning scheme, as when we decide to (1) *appreciate* a sunset or (2) to be *inspired* by the majesty of a redwood forest. We may decide (3) to *elaborate* a meaning scheme or (4) to *create* a

new one to explain our experience. We may also (5) *confirm* an established meaning scheme or (6) find a meaning scheme problematic, leading to *problem posing* and subsequent problem solving.

Problem Solving

To understand how we learn through problem solving it is necessary to differentiate between *instrumental* and *communicative action*. Learning to take instrumental action involves controlling or manipulating the environment, as in task-oriented learning. This involves hypothetico-deductive reasoning to relate cause and effect by formulating a hypothesis and making deductions in order to more accurately predict performance.

Communicative action involves understanding what someone means when they dialogue with you through speech, a text, dramatic performance, art or dance. This includes understanding the meaning of ideals, moral decision making, feelings and norm-governed ideas like goodness, justice, love, compassion, democracy and beauty. Communicative learning involves a logic of reasoning that is "metaphoric-abductive." Propelled by our line of action, we attempt to understand the meaning intended by creatively using metaphors to interpret, to fit our habits of expectations or meaning perspectives to what we perceive and move from what we intuitively recognise, moving back and forth between the object or event and its perspectival and various situational contexts.

Reflection

Reflection may be understood as assessing the grounds for one's beliefs. When so understood, reflection may focus upon the content of a problem, the process of problem solving or the premise of the problem. *Reflection-in-action* involves content or process reflection. *Retroactive reflection* may also involve content or process reflection but can also involve premise reflection, what many of us have been calling "critical reflection." Content or process reflection can lead to transformations in our beliefs; premise reflection can lead to transformations in perspective , *i.e.* our belief system.

Content and process reflection make new interpretations possible, and these changes occur commonly. Premise reflection occurs only when we are confronted by a disorienting dilemma for which established patterns of thought and action become dysfunctional, "trying harder" in old ways does not work and we become compelled to redefine the problem. Transformations can result from such major dilemmas or from the accretion of transformations in related specific beliefs or meaning schemes. Thus a series of insights over several months about how a woman is oppressed by specific sex stereotypic role expectations, can lead to a perspective

transformation just as such epochal dilemma as being confronted with the death of a mate, a divorce or a separation might lead to a transformation.

Validating Meaning

Validating prior learning is a crucial dimension of adult learning. We can ascertain the truth of an assertion in instrumental learning by resorting to empirical tests to ascertain whether it is as it is asserted to be. Instrumental learning is amenable to measurement. However, establishing the validity or justification for an assertion made in communicative learning is only possible through consensual validation. The consensus involved implies that any fully informed, objective and rational person, by critically examining the evidence and arguments, would agree, much like the assumption that any juror can be replaced without changing the verdict in a court trial. However, the consensus is continually in the process of being reassessed as new evidence and arguments are presented; it is never a final judgment, but it is the best judgment, given present information. The type of dialogue by which we validate prior learning Habermas calls *discourse*. In discourse, a conscious effort is made to place biases aside and to thoughtfully review the evidence, hear the different arguments and view points and to make the best informed collective judgment possible.

Rational discourse has been institutionalized in legal proceedings, classroom dialogue, scientific inquiry, and responsible journalism. We resort to discourse when we have reason to question the comprehensibility, truth, appropriateness (in relation to norms) or authenticity (in relation to feelings) of what is being asserted or to question the credibility of the person making the assertion. If we are unable to arrive at a rational consensus, the issue can only be resolved by resorting to force, authority, or tradition. To participate in critical discourse is what is meant by being rational.

Discourse is essential to learning because to understand the meaning of a word, sentence or any expressed idea, one must understand under what conditions it is true (in accord with what is) or valid (justifiable). As different people have experienced the meaning of the idea from different perspectives and in different situational contexts, it is essential that we all be permitted to attest to its truth or validity - its meaning - in the conditions they have experienced it. Rationality does not only mean becoming critical of assumptions, but also to hear other points of view, examine the evidence and arguments regarding what is asserted as objectively as possible and to conditionally accept an informed consensus as the best validity test available.

PERSPECTIVE TRANSFORMATION

Our beliefs, interpretations or meaning schemes are transformed by reflective thought as an everyday event. Perspective transformations involve an accretive process of transforming specific beliefs or epochal transformations imposed by external "trigger" events like a life crisis or any other experience - an event, book, drama, art or argument - which forces us to challenge the premise of our own *belief systems* or habits of expectation.

The transformation process appears to involve a disorienting dilemma; self-examination with feelings of guilt or shame; a critical assessment of presuppostiions; recognition that one's discontent and the process of transformation is shared; exploring options for new roles, relationships and actions; planning as course of action; acquiring knowledge and skills for implementing one's plan; provisional efforts to try new roles; building competence and self-confidence in new roles and relationships; and a reintegration into society on the basis of conditions dictated by one's new perspective.

FROM IS TO OUGHT

The very nature of human communication implies an ideal set of conditions for participating in rational discourse: participants have accurate and complete information, are free from coercion and distorting self-deception, have the ability to weigh the evidence and assess the arguments, are open to alternative perspectives, are critically reflective, have equality of opportunity to participate and will accept an informed, objective and rational consensus as a legitimate test of validity. These conditions also represent a set of ideal conditions for adult learning as well and provides us with a foundation for a philosophy of adult education. A superior meaning perspective is one which is more inclusive, discriminating, permeable, integrative of experience and is based upon rational discourse.

Transformative learning requires that one act upon new insights gained. When this learning discovers how institutionalized social norms and practices have become dependency-producing and oppressive, social action is a natural outcome. Such action may involve effecting interpersonal, organizational or systemic changes. Helping adults learn how to take social action is an integral and neglected dimension of adult education.

Transformation theory calls for a reassessment of educational goals and objectives, needs assessment, instructional methods and forms of evaluation. Adult education's purpose is to assist adults to understand the meaning of their experience by participating more fully and freely in rational discourse to validate expressed ideas. The adult educator's task is to foster critical self-reflection and participation in rational discourse and action.

ABSTRACT

Title: Intentional Culture Change By Managers Within An Organization: A Multiple Case Study Analysis

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Summary:

This study revealed that management groups which actively pursued change goals that impacted all levels of organizational culture were considerably more successful than a management group which pursued goals primarily relating to the behavior level. The investigation also found a strong linkage between a change process based upon the Lewin-Schein theory, characterized by its unfreeze, change, and refreeze phases, and the successful culture change of a management group.

INTENTIONAL CULTURE CHANGE BY MANAGERS WITHIN AN ORGANIZATION: A MULTIPLE CASE STUDY ANALYSIS

Introduction

Our organizations are discovering that they live in an ever-more turbulent world, one that tends to produce an uncertain operating environment. As a result, many organizations have been reviewing, and frequently adjusting, their organizational mission and strategy. These changes, however, have the potential to cause great frustration among all of the organization's members, a situation that in turn can cause the change effort to fail, unless there is a corresponding change in the organizational culture. Thus, with increasing frequency, organizations are seeking to make planned changes in their culture.

Any change in an organization's culture will require that each organizational group learn the behaviors, norms, values, and basic assumptions that characterize the new culture. While all groups must accomplish these learnings, it is particularly critical that the management group effectively and efficiently learn all facets of the new culture. This is because the management of the organization is the one group that must become aware of the need for a culture change, actually go through the culture change themselves, and lead the change effort of all of the other groups in the organization.

The problem, however, is that this type of change within the management group typically occurs in a very haphazard fashion. This ineffective, trial-and-error learning will at least seriously hinder the needed organizational transformation. Thus, there has been a pressing need for a more systematic learning process that will facilitate cultural change across the management group. This paper will address this need by describing the results of a study that has resulted in a better understanding of the patterns, processes, and learning involved in the organizational culture change of management groups.

The Research Study

The study examined the change process of three management groups that had substantial, but varying, overall success at changing their organizational culture.

Two of the groups were judged by their senior management and the change agent team to have had great success in changing their cultures; the third group was judged to have had only moderate success. Each group was based in semi-independent mechanical shop, part of a railroad that was engaging in corporate culture change. The shops were all located in the state of Iowa, and contained between 100 and 300 employees.

The study followed a case study methodology, and was based on interviews, observation, and document review. The raw data was verified at each of the shops, analyzed by the researcher, and developed into a case report. In turn, the case study report was reviewed by key informants at each shop and then analyzed in-depth by the researcher. After the three case studies were completed, a cross-case analysis was made and the final conclusions were drawn.

In order to meet the criteria of dependability and confirmability for qualitative studies, the researcher established an "audit trail" of the records and materials used in the study. The trail demonstrates the careful links drawn between the research questions and the protocol, the protocol and the field experience, the field experience and the data, and, finally, between the data and the conclusions.

Research Results

The study first examined the shop goal-setting process, and found it had a critical impact on the success of the change effort. Each shop was at least nominally committed to attaining the following overall corporate goals:

1. Give all employees the freedom necessary to be able to successfully meet the needs of their "internal customers".
2. Encourage and recognize teamwork.
3. Encourage and recognize innovation.
4. Address problems and concerns of employees through open communication, particularly through attentive listening.

However, not all of these goals were consciously pursued in each shop. The two more successful shops (the Engine and Caboose shops) pursued goals that included changing some basic assumptions of the management group; however, the less successful shop (the Car shop) pursued goals that stopped at the value level of culture change.

Thus, the more successful shops sought to achieve goals that would require members of the management group to make a complex change in their philosophy as to how people should be supervised. The less successful shop, in contrast, pursued goals which primarily required the management group to make simpler changes in supervisory behaviors and norms.

The Management Change Process

The second set of results dealt with the specific change process of the management group. The study found a strong linkage between a change process based upon the Lewin-Schein change model and the successful transformation of a management group. It appears that the closer the change process follows Schein's change phases, the more successful the culture change.

Within the "unfreezing" phase, it was clear that members of the management groups had to first realize that there must be a substantial altering of their traditional roles. One means of accomplishing this realization was to make the management group aware of the severe consequences of inaction, such as the closure of their facility. Another means of "jolting" the management group was to replace the head of the organizational unit with an individual who had an operating philosophy consistent with the needed changes. The new leader communicated new role expectations through personal meetings with each member of the management group.

After they understood the absolute necessity for change, the management group had to be convinced that its proposed new relationship with employees was workable and attainable. This was achieved by implementation of successful pilot projects that impacted virtually all employees in the work unit. The management group was able to see that the basic assumptions underlying the change effort were indeed valid. This provided the group with a substantial degree of "psychological safety"; the perceived barriers to the change effort were considerably lowered and thus it was "safer" to consider making a personal change. This step was so critical to the success of the change effort that it suggests those responsible for the change should construct such a pilot project where no obvious one exists.

Once the management group had its culture "unfrozen", it was time to learn the new culture. This "change" phase

was best accomplished through the mechanism of the role model. In both of the more successful changes, the management group was able to observe the head of the organizational unit modeling, with shopcraft employees, the most critical behaviors involved in the change effort. In an outstanding example, one shop superintendent spent up to a quarter of his time soliciting ideas from employees at their work stations. Throughout this modeling process, the organizational head based his behaviors upon the basic assumptions and values inherent in the culture change. This technique apparently had a powerful impact upon the overall management transformation process. The management group members were able to see what the new culture "looked like" in their own work areas, with their own people. The provision of these concrete examples greatly aided the learning of the new culture.

At this point, the managers were ready to try out activities that were consistent with the espoused new culture. Now in the Lewin-Schein "reinforcement" phase, the more successful managers experienced both of the reinforcing mechanisms espoused by Schein. The managers seized upon several types of opportunities to test their new approach to employees. Sometimes the managers led formal project teams that involved all employee levels; at other times, they implemented informal suggestions from employees. Often they would involve employees in highly interactive meetings. It appeared that the more opportunities there were for practicing the new approaches, the more effective was the transformation effort.

The second "reinforcement" mechanism was in effect whenever "significant others" confirmed the initial successes of the transformation effort. An example occurred when the board of directors met at one of the locations that was experiencing early success with the change effort. The management group at the location believed that this visit signified renewed confidence by senior management in their capabilities.

It also appeared that some degree of self-confirmation assisted the internalization of the change. Managers often found that the successful implementation of activities associated with the new culture made their jobs easier. Thus, it became very easy and logical for them to build the new activities into their everyday behavior. The effective use of all these reinforcement mechanisms was clearly associated with stabilization of the culture change across the management group.

Critical Variables

The study isolated several variables that appear to be critical to the success of the culture change. The first variable is the degree to which the management group can make a "clean break" with the past. A second critical variable is the comprehensiveness of the initial change project used within the organization. The third critical variable is the extent of the proactive involvement of the head of the organization in all aspects of the change.

Guidelines for Intentional Culture Change Across a Management Group

Based upon the results of this study, the following guidelines should assist those responsible for the intentional culture change of a management group:

1. Explain to all the absolute necessity of the culture change.

2. Clearly define the operational goals of the change effort. Show the management group how each goal relates to the assumptions, values, norms, and behaviors that are the basis for the new culture.

3. Clearly define the new roles of management under the new culture.

4. Provide a common experience that demonstrates to all the feasibility of the proposed changes.

5. Have the senior manager spend substantial time proactively modeling the expected behaviors involved in the change.

6. Provide multiple opportunities for the management group to practice the new behaviors.

7. Follow up the successful implementation of change with recognition that is meaningful to those who have completed the change.

ADULT STUDENTS IN FILM: ANDRAGOGY GOES TO HOLLYWOOD

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Abstract: Like literary research, the study of films can become a valuable area of inquiry within adult education. In this study, the author describes Hollywood's portrayals of adult students in films about college.

Numerous studies within the last decade have dealt with the use of the media of popular culture to examine the phenomena of adult education and adult students (Pittman and Ohliger, 1989). As Merriam noted, "the picture of development in adulthood that literary artists give to readers is often imaginative, colorful, and multi-dimensional" (1983, p.5). In an article on the study of "reentry women," Hill pointed to "the novel's ability to provide fresh insights while generating reader excitement . . . " (1989, p.8).

To this point, such studies in the media of popular culture have centered on the study of written literary works, including novels, short fiction, plays, and even poetry (Pittman and Ohliger, 1989). However, in a forthcoming article, Osborn calls for the study of adult education and adult students as presented in popular films, and argues that the value of films may even exceed that of novels, "for they represent more than one point of view" (1990, p. 3). This paper is intended as a preliminary survey of American popular films that portray the adult experience in college.

Films centering on the collegiate experience have formed one of Hollywood's most enduring genres. College films--particularly the earlier ones--have for the most part been escapist fare, heavy on football and musical production numbers, but light on classrooms and laboratories (Umphlett, p. 46). In more recent years, the genre has expanded to include other types of films, including dark comedies, romantic dramas, and even horror stories. However, comedies have continued to dominate, as has an emphasis on extracurricular activities. Actual classroom scenes are nearly as infrequent in the more recent films as they were in the musicals and football stories of the 1930's.

Adult students appear in relatively few collegiate films. Most films in this genre concentrate on the undergraduate experience, and most of the undergraduates are of the traditional age, roughly 18 to 22 (although the actors frequently are noticeably older than the characters they are playing). However, there have been a number of adults on the celluloid campuses, dating from at least as early as 1935. When adult students have appeared, they have virtually always been portrayed as intruders, alien presences, fish out of water.

Since 1935, adult students have played important parts in at least two dozen feature and made-for-television films. In most of the early films surveyed for this paper, and even in some of the later ones, the circumstances that have led adults to the campus gates are implausible, at best. It is as if the writers, directors, and others involved in the production of these films considered adult students so unlikely that they found it necessary to create absurd explanations for their presence. To the faculty and the students of traditional age, their presence--at least initially--is not only odd, but disruptive. This premise has been used most frequently in comedies.

However, it has also been used effectively in dramatic plots of various types. The emphasis on the adult as alien has moderated over the years, but it has never disappeared. There is still no American equivalent of Educating Rita, an English film in which the protagonist is a hair dresser. As a student of the British Open University, an institution created for working people, she is more or less taken on her own terms. This is unknown in American films, with the partial exception of a couple of films set in night schools.

The Implausible Dream: Adults on the Early Celluloid Campus

The first two films featuring adult students appeared in 1935. Each fits into the popular mold of college films of that day. Old Man Rhythm is a college musical, Gridiron Flash a football story; in both cases, the adult students are definitely alien presences. In the former, a rich toy tycoon enrolls in college so that he can keep an eye on his son, hoping to prevent him from marrying a gold digger. In the latter, a convict is offered parole if he will play football for the college coach who has noticed his talent on the prison team.

While each of these adult students is a distinct outsider, the movies themselves do not depart from the conventions of the day. The adults have to adapt, to learn to fit in. The toy tycoon undergoes freshman hazing and joins a dance band. The bank robber adopts middle class values. For the most part, these patterns have held in subsequent college movies featuring adult students, even though the roles and situations have broadened over the years.

As The Gladiator (1938) opens, Joe E. Brown is a contented employee of a children's hospital. He is fired to create a vacancy for the child of a large donor to the hospital, but told that the job now requires a college degree. Through a series of improbable coincidences, he wins a large sum of money. This unlikely stroke of luck enables him to return to the college he had been forced to leave years before. The improbability compounds as Brown drinks a serum, developed by an eccentric scientist, that makes him the world's strongest man and, more importantly, a football hero.

In Sweetheart of the Campus (1941), Ozzie Nelson's orchestra finds itself out of work because the trustee of a nearby college manages to shut down the roadhouse where they had landed a job. Nelson and his entire ensemble, including dancer Ruby Keeler, enroll in the college so that they can put on a show in the gymnasium. Their presence and performances have the effect of attracting much needed students to the college, which had been on the verge of closing due to low enrollment. As unrealistic as this premise is, that of Harvard, Here I Come (1942) easily exceeds it. Here, the Harvard Lampoon gives 'Slapsie' Maxie Rosenbloom, a real boxer and fictive nightclub owner, a satiric award for his "pediculousness." Rosenbloom accepts this insult as an honor and decides to attend Harvard, "because it's tops" (Variety, 1 April 1942). Once there, the science professors decide he is akin to the "missing link" and recruit him as a perpetual research subject.

Esther Williams flees her wedding to Red Skelton, a song writer for Broadway shows, when it appears that Red is already married, in the 1944 Bathing Beauty. She thinks she can avoid him altogether, until she can get an annulment, by resuming a former job on the faculty of an exclusive women's college, locked behind a wall, where no men can be admitted. Red, however, discovers a loophole in the charter and demands admission. The presence of an

adult, not to mention a male, thoroughly disrupts the cloistered atmosphere of "Victoria College."

Clifton Webb established the character of Lynn Belvedere, a mysterious, know-it-all genius, in Sitting Pretty (1948). In Mr. Belvedere Goes to College (1949), Webb finds himself broke. He can claim a lucrative literary prize, but only if he can present a college diploma. Therefore, he decides he will enter college, although he has previously had only two weeks of formal schooling, and earn a degree. The president and dean are naturally startled when he announces he will require only a year to complete his college work. Money provides the equally unlikely premise in another 1949 film, Mother is a Freshman. The recently widowed Loretta Young is dismayed to find that she lacks the funds to support herself and keep her daughter (Betty Lynn) in college. She remembers that her grandmother had established an obscure scholarship for which only females with the name of "Abigail Fortitude" were eligible. Rather than going to work, she decides to attend the college and collect the scholarship, which will keep her daughter and herself afloat for a few months, until her trust fund matures.

When Dagwood and Blondie (Arthur Lake and Penny Singleton) go to college (Blondie Goes to College, 1942), they decide to avoid looking like outsiders. College would be "more fun" that way, Singleton says (Schuth, 1972). They go so far as to put their son into military school so that they can conceal their age and marital status. In effect, they use college as a means of escape from adulthood.

Arrival of the Veterans: The Dawning of Dignity

Hollywood began to take the adult student more seriously after World War II, when veterans, and often their families, began to crowd campuses nationwide. The frequency of farfetched premises diminished considerably in this period. Hollywood treated veterans as if their reasons for attending classes were now believable and respectable, even if they still had problems fitting into the academic environment.

Brief respectful nods are given to this group in Mr. Belvedere Goes to College and Mother is a Freshman (both 1949). In Yes, Sir, That's My Baby (1949), Donald O'Conner and four other married vets not only attend school and play football, they help take care of their children and housework while their wives attend classes. While this presents a string of comic complications, the faculty and administration are sympathetic with these students, even to the point of tolerating their children in class. No one questions the appropriateness of their presence.

Student vets receive loving treatment in An Apartment for Peggy (1948). The seriousness of the students is never questioned. The faculty treat them with genuine respect and are never patronizing. William Holden and his wife, Jeanne Crain, have come to college so that Holden can become a teacher. During the war he had decided that this could be an effective way of helping improve the world. When he has a crisis and must make up a number of exams, the professors do all they can to help. Even one with a reputation for being tough on vets proves fair and decent. A veteran himself, he holds his students to a high standard. Of all of the films featuring adult students, this one presents by far the most positive picture.

Twenty-two years later, a Vietnam veteran returning to graduate school has a more difficult time in Getting Straight (1970). Elliot Gould also wants to become a teacher. But he finds himself caught between generations,

alienated from both his authoritarian professors and the younger students, most of whom are playing at rebellion. He finds the campus a hostile, incomprehensible environment, much as some of his fellow Vietnam veterans found American society as a whole. The difference between the portrayal of a student veteran in Getting Straight and those of the movies about World War II veterans reflects a great deal about public perceptions of the two wars and the returning veterans.

Recent Films: Occasional Realism

After the arrival of the World War II vets, absurdity was not a necessity when an adult entered college. Adults began to show up for a variety of legitimate, believable reasons. However, the absurd explanation was--and still is--used occasionally, even though the public presumably should now be accustomed to the idea of adult students in college.

Virginia Mayo decides to go to college in order to make a career shift from burlesque to professional writing in She's Working Her Way Through College (1952), a decision prompted by a conversation with Professor Ronald Reagan, who tells her about burlesque's origins in commedia del arte (Johnson, 1977). While perhaps intended as an absurd premise in 1952, this no longer seems so farfetched. Like Dagwood and Blondie in Blondie Goes to College, Mayo believes it is necessary to conceal her former career. And, in fact, when her professional identity as "Hot Garters Gertie" becomes known, the president tells Reagan that he must throw her out of his class. Thus, Mayo is definitely perceived as an alien presence.

In High Time (1960), self-made businessman Bing Crosby has to ignore the disapproval of his spoiled children when he enters college, seeking "the full treatment." The thin humor of this film revolves around Crosby's participation in the more inane parts of the undergraduate experience, such as hazing and fraternity pranks. Yet, he himself is never a figure of fun, and he expects to be treated as an adult when he begins a romantic relationship with his French professor. Like Crosby, Art Carney in The Undergrads (1985) enters college over the disapproval of a child. His son wants to put him in a nursing home. Instead, he enters college with his grandson. The two live a spartan existence after Carney's disapproving son cuts off support for both of them. Also like Crosby, Carney becomes romantically involved with one of his professors.

An adult student receives fair treatment in the 1965 adaptation of a Betty Smith novel, Joy in the Morning. In this film, set in the 1920's, Richard Chamberlain jeopardizes his future in law school by marrying and bringing his wife (Yvette Mimieux) to campus with him. He then has to work at a variety of jobs in order to make ends meet, which causes him to give insufficient attention to his studies. While this film is overly sentimental, and resembles a soap opera, the difficulty of being a married, working student in the 1920's comes through clearly. Cut off from the normal student life, Chamberlain clearly does not fit in.

Lee Remick is anything but frivolous in her approach to graduate school in The Women's Room (1980), adapted from Marilyn French's feminist novel. When Remick's marriage fails, despite her having played by all of the rules as she understands them, she returns to school (identified as Harvard in the book) as a means of beginning a new life. While there are others like her at graduate school, she finds the environment inhospitable to women, particularly

middle-aged women. Only her friends--women in similar circumstances--and an affair with a graduate teaching assistant make the experience bearable.

Just as keeping an eye on an unreliable son provides the premise for Old Man Rhythm, it sets the scene for one of the most recent films featuring an adult student, Back to School (1986). Rich haberdasher Rodney Dangerfield desperately wants his son Jason to get the education he never had. In order to encourage Jason--a social and athletic failure--to stay in school, he decides to enroll and go through with him. Because he did not graduate from high school, he has to bribe an unscrupulous administrator in order to be admitted. Like Bing Crosby, Art Carney, and Red Skelton, he finds a romantic interest on the faculty (Sally Kellerman). At the very least, adult male students in college films seem to ensure the presence of female professors.

Robert Conrad's enrollment as a student at the University of the Pacific is not a remarkable event in Glory Days (1988). It is only his determination to play quarterback, at age 52, that marks him as unusual. Thus, by 1988 the adult student is neither absurd nor particularly remarkable. Yet the premise of the fish out of water remains.

The Home of the Adult: Night School

The one setting in which adult college students are the norm is night school. Here, as in real life, night schools are regarded as existing primarily for adults. In fact, they tend to become a part of the scenery.

The reasons that hard-bitten editor Clark Gable shows up in Professor Doris Day's evening journalism class are funny, and his continued presence is chiefly for the purpose of romancing her (Teacher's Pet, 1958). However, all of the other students in the class are working adults with whom Day feels entirely comfortable.

Night School (1981) is a slasher movie about an exclusive college for young women, many of whom work during the day and attend class at night, and most of whom seem to have had affairs with a lecherous male professor. And some of those who have been seduced and abandoned by the professor are consoled by the college president, an aggressive lesbian. While the environment is certainly unfriendly--students are frequently decapitated--it has nothing to do with their age or part-time status.

Danny DeVito is a loser attending a night class in writing in Throw Momma from the Train (1987). But that does not mark him as an outsider; all of the people in the class are losers. But so is instructor Billy Crystal. While the adult students are not portrayed in an attractive fashion, they are treated no worse than anyone else in the film. Thus, equity--no matter how ridiculous--is achieved.

Conclusion

The typical portrayal of the adult student is that of an intruder. This is borne out in films from various sub-genres, over time. However, it should also be noted that in most cases, the adult student emerges triumphant at the end of the picture. It is possible to contend that they are treated with greater respect by the film makers--or at least with less disrespect--than students of the traditional age. Hollywood has rarely taken the college experience seriously. Within that context, adults--even as outsiders--seem to fare as well as, or better than, other students.

Chronological Listing of Films Featuring Adult College Students

Gridiron Flash (1935). Radio.
Old Man Rhythm (1935). RKO.
The Gladiator (1938). Columbia.
Sweetheart of the Campus (1941). Columbia.
Blondie Goes to College (1942). Columbia.
Harvard, Here I Come (1942). Columbia.
Bathing Beauty (1944). MGM.
An Apartment for Peggy (1948). Twentieth Century-Fox.
Mr. Belvedere Goes to College (1949). Twentieth Century-Fox.
Mother is a Freshman (1949). Twentieth Century Fox.
Yes, Sir, That's My Baby (1949). Universal.
She's Working Her Way Through College (1952). Warner Brothers.
Teacher's Pet (1958). Paramount.
High Time (1960). Twentieth Century-Fox.
Getting Straight (1970). Columbia.
The Women's Room (1980). Warner Brothers (Television).
Night School (1981). Lorimar/Paramount.
The Undergrads (1985). Disney.
Back to School (1986). Orion.
Throw Momma from the Train (1987). Orion.
Glory Days (1988). Black Sheep Productions/CBS Television.

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THE HISTORY AND SOCIAL POLICY DEVELOPMENT OF THE GED IN THE U.S.A AND CANADA: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

B. Allan Quigley

ABSTRACT: The GED testing program has provided high school equivalency certification to over ten million adults since its inception in 1942. Today, it constitutes approximtely 15% of high school diplomas awarded in the U.S.A. This paper provides an early history and comparative analysis of the social policy purposes of the GED in the U.S.A. and Canada.

INTRODUCTION

Compared with the history of other programs for undereducated adults, such as literacy, basic, and "fundamental" education--programs hastily invented and re-invented in reaction to socio-political crises (Smith, 1977)--the Tests of General Educational Development ("GED") have been a model of sustained impact and non-controvery. However, it is not well known that the GED is utilized across the entire western hemisphere and in American military bases in Europe, or that they have been part of adult education since 1942. With the exceptions of Ontario and Quebec, each province, state, and territory from the Northwest Territories to the South Pacific has independently chosen to enter into a contractual agreement with the GED Testing Service ("GEDTS") in Washington, D.C. This standardized set of tests is conducted annually in more than 3,400 test sites under secure conditions and has enabled over ten million adults to obtain recognition for their acquired learning since 1942--seven million since 1971--comprising approximately 15% of all high school credentials awarded in the U.S. annually (The 1988 Statistical Report).

Given the program's sheer size, longevity, and unique transferability over such an enormous geographic area, the GED has received remarkably little attention from researchers in the field. This fact is particularly true with respect to the history of the GED and its social policy implications.

QUESTIONS ADDRESSED

Both historical and international comparative questions were addressed in this study, specifically: 1) Why have so many states, provinces and territories independently chosen to enter this particular program, what social policy purposes were to have been obtained, and for whom? 2) How has aggregate policy purpose of these jurisdictions changed through time? 3) Has the GED as social policy been substantively different from literacy social policy? Comparatively, 4) Has the evolution of the GED been consistent between Canada and the U.S. or have these standardized tests been adapted by and for these two countries? 5) Finally, what do the findings suggest on similarities/differences in approaches to adult undereducation social policies between Canada and the Unites States?

METHODOLOGY AND DATA SOURCE:

Source documents were researched from the files of GEDTS, Washington. These consisted of original state/provincial/territorial correspondence between educational representatives and GEDTS--letters, telegrams, minutes of meetings, internal memos by GEDTS Directors, and historical policy papers of the GEDTS. These were systematically analyzed utilizing a standardized data collection

form. Documentation on each of the ten participating Canadian provinces and territories was included: British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, Newfoundland, the Yukon, and the Northwest Territories (Quigley, 1987). Since the GED was established in Canada more recently than in the U.S., the early, often the first, administrator was often able to be contacted to fill data gaps. For the U.S., a random geographically distributed sample of ten states was used representative of the north east, south east, south west, north west, and midwestern regions, plus the first and last states to join the GED (eg. 24% of states; 20% of states and terriories): Conneticut, New Jersey; Georgia, Alabama; Texas, Arizona; Montana, Oregon; Illinois, Ohio; and the first and last: New York, California. Senior GEDTS staff and current state administrators were consulted for further data.

FINDINGS

GED AND LITERACY SOCIAL POLICIES COMPARED: Social policy has been defined in the educational context as, "the attempt to use education to solve social problems, influence social structures, to improve one or more aspects of the social condition, to anticipate crisis" (Silver, 1980, p. 17). Literacy policies have long been used to "solve" social problems ranging from unchristian conduct to unemployment (Arnove and Graff, 1987; Chisman, 1989; Fingeret, 1989). Its history from Britain to Canada and America reveals public disdain for those who do not possess normative knowledge, of episodic crusades and campaigns to impart "status" knowledge and, thus, to "improve the social condition." The historical public debate has centered on human and cultural capital investment questions--such as the extent to which society should "invest" in illiterate adults, what they "need" to be taught, and the extent to which they are even capable of learning (Carlson, 1970; Graff, 1979; Verner, 1967). Described in 1871 as an "immense evil" (Leigh, 1871, p. 802), literacy education has a social policy history of "rescuing" sinners, freed slaves, immigrants, criminals, and the unemployed (eg. Coolidge, 1924; Leigh, 1871). By contrast, the less volatile history of the GED is founded on the belief that certain exceptional adults have acquired valued knowledge with or without schooling and that this knowledge should be recognized. That the GED was founded to assist returning service personnel put it on firm, even heroic ground in 1942. Thus, the GED has a history of rewarding, not rescuing. Ironically, many of the first GED candidates were prison inmates or patients in state hospitals. But, they were war veterans. Thus, the GED has escaped the political spotlight and has evolved quietly out of the apolitical American Council on Education ("ACE") and under the administrative direction of state/province/territory civil servants.

EARLY GED HISTORY: During WW II, equivalency testing was administered by the U.S. Armed Forces Institute ("USAFI") based in Madison, WI to service personnel. With increasing numbers and growing civilian interest, a civilian team of test experts lead by E.F. Lindquist and Ralph Tyler developed high school equivalent tests in 1942, "to measure the outcomes and concepts of a four-year high school (non-technical) education in the five areas of learning taught in all such high schools throughout the country, namely English Grammar, Social Studies, Natural Sciences, Literature and Mathematics" (Turner, 8/3/56). These tests were standardized in April/May, 1943 by administering them to 35,000 seniors in 814 high schools in 48 states. In December, 1945, the Commission on Accreditation was formed within ACE and the Veterans' Testing Service ("VTS") established "to make available to civilian educational institutions secure forms of the GED tests to veterans and non-veteran adults" (Turner,8/3/56). The late 1940's was

a transitional period with the VTS administering the GED to service personnel in state approved centers across America. "Joining the GED" through a state request and formal (or informal) approval by ACE to shift administration responsibilities was a slow, even halting process into the transitional 1950's. Recognition of the GED by states was also uneven. Many states were diverted from involvement in the GED during the Korean War but, by 1956, only New Jersey, North Carolina, and Indiana did not recognize it (Turner, 4/4/56). New Jersey, for instance, discussed service issues with ACE in 1946 (Elicker, 1/31/46), but refused to recognize the GED until the 1950's. They then entered it in 1959 and, today, surpass all in flexibility with a no-residency requirement policy. By 1966, 39 state departments had extended the GED to inmates and patients of VA hospitals (Turner to Sanders, 11/16/56), ushering in the "civilian period" which with the GED being extended to Job Corps trainees through state departments of education. Other federal programs such as the postal service academies and apprentice programs saw states join, until California joined last in 1974.

STATES' SOCIAL POLICY PURPOSES: Although many states discussed the problems of evaluating service experiences with the Commission in the late 1940's, New York was the first to enter an (informal) agreement. The tests were based on 1944 percentile norms developed by E.F Lindquist (at a cost of $4.70 to the State University of Iowa), (Lindquist, 3/21/47). These norms were established among 47 representative New York schools, with "About 536 Pupils [sic] Taking Each Test" (Lindquist, PERCENTILE NORMS...,3/21/47). Having received approval from their Board of Regents, the first GED tests for "servicemen on active duty, veterans, and non-veteran adults" (Turner, 12/17/47) were administered jointly in 1947 with N.Y. issuing credentials, ACE collecting fees (Barrows, 5/12/47). After one year, the N.Y. Education Department assumed authority for test administration. The tests were administered to ex-service personnel over 21 years of age through state test centers and to "patients and inmates in state institutions" (Turner, 11/7/55). Between 1948-1953, 59,945 took the GED in order "to secure advanced educational training," followed with "job eligibility" in 1952, changing to "personal satisfaction" in 1953 ("The University..., March, 17, 1954). New York recognized acquired learning among ex-service personnel 21 years and older in exceptional circumstances, ie. without a XII diploma and in transition from the military, incarcerated, or hospitalized. Significantly, guidelines were never so rigid as to bar non-service adults from writing.

Aggregate social policy was to slowly follow New York's lead. The early 1950's saw a national social policy shift from transitioning service personnel to rehabilitation of veterans in state correctional centers, VA hospitals and sanatoriums. As Neil Turner, the second director of the VTS stated, "Medical authorities in the VA hospitals believe that the Educational Therapy programs of their hospitals contribute to successful rehabilitation of their patients as much as other therapy programs which they operate" (Turner, 7/2/59). It was always assumed service personnel were GED's clients but Turner rarely specified this, leaving the back door open. In fact, the Commission and Turner subtly but consistently encouraged expansion of the GED. Texas extended the GED strictly "for the successful rehabilitation of individual patients and inmates" (Turner, 8/3/56) but, when Arizona requested it for its "guests" in the State Prison (Howard, 6/25/59), and Alabama requested to extend the GED to state correctional institutions (Turner, 7/18/61), they also received approval for state health agencies. By 1962, the "side door" was also in use with states such as Arizona receiving approval to use the GED on Indian reservations and remote areas (Coor, 1/5/62). Social policy was shifting from military to civilians; from a program to help in transition to one which could rehabilitate society's disadvantaged.

The 1955 renorming of the GED helped in the "strengthening and extension of policies within a few states in making the GED testing program available to all adults" (Turner, 5/15/56), but the turning point for the GED came during the War on Poverty when, in 1965, the Office of Economic Opportunity asked ACE to include Job Corps trainees. In 1966, Turner wrote all states requesting them to consider the request. This, he said, would enable trainees "to obtain jobs, encourage them to continue their education, or...make them eligible for service in the Armed Forces" (Turner, 1/14/66). Aggregate social policy evolved from a transitional period in the "heroic" '40's, to veterans (mainly) in VA hospitals and prisons (and civilians informally in some states) during the "rehabilitation '50's," to disadvantaged youths in the "War on Poverty '60's." And, today, adults as exceptions is standard social policy for those "who did not complete high school" and can "demonstrate that they have acquired a level of learning comparable to that of high school graduates" (The 1988 Statistical Report).

PROVINCES/TERRITORYS' SOCIAL POLICY PURPOSES: The GED was developed to assist returning U.S. service personnel and, interestingly, twenty-two years later Canada entered the program due to a similar need. Nova Scotia entered the first Canada-ACE/GED contract to assist retiring Canadian naval personnel. The first GED Administrator wrote, "we in Canada do not have suitable test instruments such as your GED tests to assess the achievement of such personnel" (Manzer, 12/2/68). Asked if he then forsaw this as the first step in a national movement which has issued 195,719 credentials since 1971 (The GED statistical report), Manzer replied, "Yes, it was country wide in the U.S.A. and something similar was needed in Canada" (personal communication, May 19, 1985). However, the two countries have less in common in their approach to GED and social policy.

The GED was not connected with Job Corps movements or rehabilitation programs in Canada. Rather, federally sponsored programs such as Basic Training for Skill Development in the 1960's, recognized with provincial certificates, was part of any such initiatives. The GED has played the role of norm-referenced, set of "challenge tests" in Canada; ABE and its provincial certification has been the developmental, curriculum-referenced adult system for undereducation.

Neither did Canada have the leadership of Neil Turner. Instead, the GED became established through informal communications among provincial civil servants and politicians. Saskatchewan joined after Nova Scotia, May 4, 1970. According to its first GED Administrator, their Minister of Education heard of Nova Scotia and the GED at a Council of Ministers of Education conferences and since, "Our Minister of the day, was from the East [he] became enthused about the program" (F. Nakonechney, personal communication, May 22, 1985). Sask. was motivated to provide high school equivalency to adults who "were unable to obtain grade XII during the depression years 1930's [sic] and war years" (F. Nakonechney, personal communication, May 22, 1985). The GED was seen as a means for such adult exceptions to attain employment/higher education/satisfaction. Prince Edward Island's Department of Education also heard of the GED from Nova Scotia and was the third to join for the same reasons but also because it had teachers with normal school training but no high school diploma (Quigley, 1987). Manitoba and New Brunswick joined in 1971. Manitoba also consulted Nova Scotia and even used precisely the same wording as was used in P.E.I.'s application letter. It requested the GED for "adults who have in the past not had the opportunity to pursue education to the level of completing high school" because, "it [is] difficult for these persons to obtain promotion in work situations... and difficult...to pursue further training" (Hanashak, 10/20/71).

New Brunswick was also influenced by Nova Scotia (Bradford, 9/15/70) and joined only after encouraging GEDTS to jointly develop a French version of the

GED. British Columbia first pilot tested the GED in the New Westminister penitentiary, reminiscent of the 1950's U.S. experience, and consulted N.S. before joining, April 30, 1973. N.S. also influenced Newfoundland and Labrador to join; the Northwest Territories began in June, 1975, and the Yukon joined in December, 1976 primarily so citizens could apply to the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (Quigley, 1987). Alberta was the last to join in June, 1981 after years of internal controversy. Like California, the issue was if another certificate was needed. Thus, Nova Scotia and Turney Manzer played a more modest, behind-the-scenes version of the role that ACE and Turner played in the U.S.A earlier.

DIFFERENCES IN POLICY AND PRACTICE: That Canada has used the GED as a challenge exam and rarely during a study program makes it arguable that Canada's use of the tests is closer to the original purposes of an equivalency exam than America's. More obvious, however, are six major content/practice differences between the American and Canadian versions which, based on this sample, suggest differences in adult education social policy approaches to undereducation between the two countries. Arising largely out of differences in governance, culture, and tradition: 1) Canada precipitated development of a French version to meet the needs of French-speaking citizens (originally those in New Brunswick); 2) it has utilized metrication in math tests since the mid-1980's after Canada converted to metric; 3) it has utilized grade-level certification from 9-12 in several provinces/territories since Nova Scotia joined to meet traditional institutional/market demands--a practice relatively unknown in the U.S. (and one which GEDTS does not endorse due to a lack of norming data for grade levels); 4) and it developed a Canadian social studies test in the late 1970's. In fact, a single U.S.-Canada version was proposed, acceptable in the U.S. but summarily rejected by Canadian administrators (D.R. Whitney, personal communication, April 30, 1985). The GED administrators'insisted on Canadian social studies content. Finally, Canadian administrators have worked towards and succeeded in setting uniform pass levels in each jurisdiction to ensure uniformity and ease of diploma transfer. This latter point is very significant in that Turner had requested all states in 1971 to seek increased uniformity of pass levels but few agreed (Turner, 8/19/71). Finally, underscoring Canadian tendency to uniformity and order, at no point did a Canadian province consider anything but centralized administration through their provincial/territorial offices of education. The U.S. has nearly 3,400 centers; Canada has but ten with each government office typically distributing tests only on test dates.

Thus, the basic social policy purposes of the GED have remained much the same in the U.S. and Canada--recognition of adults with acquired learning who do not hold a high school diploma. In this, since New York's first tests, individuals and society are expected to improve as graduates achieve further education, employment, and the satisfaction of having a diploma. The GED has a social policy history of reward, not of rescue. But when compared, arising out of culture and governing tradition, there is little evidence of the more dramatic transition or rehabilitation themes associated with veterans or Job Corps in Canada. In its Canadian development, the social policy approach was,"reasoned, courteous, and resolute in purpose" (Quigley, p. 15). There is also a strong administrative difference in the gravitation towards centralization in Canada's federal system vs. America's pull to decentralization in their populist tradition. Canada's GED orderliness reflected in this sample suggests a rather different, more understated, response to adult undereducation--one which is inherently more uniform and more directed by civil servants behind the scenes. The question remains, however, if the Canadian proclivity to orderliness and understatement may inadvertently reduce public awareness and access to the GED?

Or, in this vein, if multiple state policies in the U.S. may cause confusion, as seen by Turner in 1971, or create transfer problems for mobile GED candidates? However, compared with literacy programs, the GED in both the U.S.A and Canada has been a a sustained, effective program for undereducated adults--one which merits more research and recognition by researchers on both sides of the border.

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LEARNING FROM PRACTITIONERS: FIELD EDUCATION METHODS

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ABSTRACT:

The purpose of this research was to ascertain what teaching methods and content in the field education process contributed to the preparation of professional social workers. The findings suggest that field instructors opt for what is expedient given agency demands, rather than subscribe to any specific educational perspectives.

LEARNING FROM PRACTITIONERS: FIELD EDUCATION METHODS

THE PROBLEM

Educating adults for the profession of social work includes both classroom and field education to prepare professionals for practice. The field education component relies on practitioners to provide supervised practice opportunities for students to acquire the practice knowledge, skills and professional identity necessary for the social work profession. To date, there are few empirical studies that provide guidelines for these practitioners on effective teaching principles, methods and processes in the context of the workplace. The purpose of this research was to examine what teaching methods and what content in the field education process used by these practitioners were most likely to contribute to the preparation for professional practice from their perspective. Teaching and learning concepts and approaches from adult education research provided a theoretical framework for understanding and analyzing the methods and processes used by these practitioners assigned to be educators (field supervisors).

METHODOLOGY

The data used here were from the review of the methods/practicum courses of a large, accredited faculty of social work conducted in 1985 to provide direction for the organization, management and content of the field education component of the social work program. The data pertinent to this secondary analysis was collected using a group administered questionnaire that was given to all field supervisors who were associated with the practicum courses in the Fall and Winter terms. The response rate was 61 percent with 129 field supervisors responding from all levels (graduate and undergraduate) and divisions (three geographic areas). The questionnaire collected basic sociodemographic and professional information about the field supervisors; the methods of teaching they perceived to be the most useful; the teaching methods they used the most; the content focus of field supervision and the field supervisors' perceptions of a variety of practicum issues. The program subscribed to a modified block placement arrangement for field instruction with faculty liaisons providing the major link with the faculty. There was no formal training for field supervisors and as such they were free to use the teaching methods and content focus they deemed most appropriate.

Since the purpose of the study was to ascertain what teaching methods and educational content were most likely to contribute to the preparation of social work students for professional practice, two models, predicting the agency field supervisors' perception of the students' preparation to assume a professional role were estimated. The field supervisors' assessments were regressed on the degree to which specific teaching methods were utilized by the supervisors in the first model, and in the second model, the degree to which they focused on different content areas. Separate models were estimated for teaching methods used and educational focus because the size of the population was small. The items used from the questionnaire are self-explanatory and appear in abbreviated form in Tables 1, 2 and 3.

DESCRIPTION OF THE DATA

The means and standard deviations for the variables used in this analysis appear in Table 1. The means presented here indicated that the field supervisors agreed that the students were adequately prepared to assume a professional role. They tended to favour the use of individual supervision and ongoing student self-evaluation as teaching methods followed by using written materials and criteria in the students' learning contracts. These methods typify an androgogical and individualized learning approach. The field supervisors indicated that they used the more direct teaching methods – direct observation, taped interviews and co-counselling, less frequently and less consistently.

These methods are more reflective of a competency-based approach. The educational focus of the field supervisors suggested a mixture of approaches. The key content areas that were addressed were assessment, helping relationships, professional values, interviewing skills, evaluating processes, intervention skills, theory/practice integration and understanding agency. Thus, they tended to focus on tasks, job-related skills and professional development.

As Table 2 indicates, the most important coefficient in determining preparation for practice, was help with problem solving from the faculty liaisons suggesting an androgogical approach to social work field education. It may also have been the shortest route to the goal of preparing a self-directed autonomous professional. The fact that the students' knowledge of social work practice theory before entering the field was the third most influential coefficient testified to the field supervisors' firm belief in the importance of practical learning. Having enough contact with the faculty liaisons supported the earlier observation of the integral role these faculty played in the students' learning (Raphael & Rosenblum, 1987; Faria et al., 1988; Rosenfeld, 1988).

Direct observation appeared as the fifth most important coefficient but its use was negatively related to the dependent variable which was an unexpected finding. However, if all the methods were considered, a trend was evident, although the coefficients were not significant. The more the field supervisors used competency-based and direct methods of teaching which would afford closer observations of the students' actual performance, the less likely they were to agree that the students were ready to assume a professional role.

In Table 3, preparation to assume a professional role is regressed on the educational focus of the field instructors with 41 percent of the variance explained. Again the trends were similar. The most important coefficient was for help from the faculty liaison followed by intervention skills, recording-report writing, students have adequate knowledge of social work practice theory, and lastly, the negative coefficient for interviewing skills.

CONCLUSIONS

When all the data were considered together the implications were clear. These particular field instructors had no espoused theoretical stance for teaching but rather made their educational judgements on the basis of what was expedient in terms of the immediate demands of social work practice and the demands of a practicum student. Practitioners need ongoing assistance to maintain an educational perspective with their students, rather than succumb to the day-to-day exigencies of agency life which diminishes the primacy of the educational experience. Specifically, they require agency time and practical support from agency administrators to carry out the job in order to avoid taking the easiest educational route. The teaching methods evolving out of current research in adult education such as learning in the workplace (Marsick, 1987); informal and incidental learning (Marsick & Watkins, 1989); developing critical thinkers (Brookfield, 1988); educating reflective practitioners (Schon, 1987); and creativity in problem solving (Gelfand, 1988) need to be tested for their applicability to social work field education and in turn, communicated to the practice community. Finally, in light of the importance of the faculty liaison role to field supervisors, it would seem reasonable to suggest that these professors are crucial to educating the field supervisors and helping them to maintain an educational focus. They require knowledge about the theories and concepts used to educate adults and they require particular knowledge about effective methods of field instruction.

TABLE 1

Means and Standard Deviations for Field Instructors' Perceptions of Teaching Methods used, Educational Focus of Field Instruction and Practice Context Variables

Variable Name	Mean	Standard Deviation
Prepared for practice	5.05	1.09
METHODS USED[a]		
Individual supervision	6.76	.57
Student self-evaluation	6.31	.94
Written material	5.79	1.43
Learning contract	5.48	1.49
Direct observation	5.44	1.70
Taped interview	4.60	2.39
Co-counselling	4.41	1.90
Group supervision	3.81	2.45
FOCUS[b]		
Assessment	6.47	.64
Helping relationships	6.27	1.14
Professional values	6.16	.98
Interviewing skills	6.14	.93
Evaluating process	6.14	1.02
Intervention skills	6.10	1.11
Theory-practice integration	6.09	1.16
Understanding agency	6.05	1.01
Student - Supervisor relationship	5.84	1.22
Recording - Report writing	5.83	1.15
Analyzing interviews	5.71	1.37
Termination skills	5.55	1.29
Managing workload	5.51	1.14
Social work roles	5.44	1.42
PRACTICE CONTEXT[c]		
Faculty liaison helped with problems	5.37	1.43
Students had enough practicum hours	5.17	1.67
Enough contact with faculty liaison	5.02	1.89
Adequate knowledge of social work practice theory before field	3.92	1.45
Not enough learning opportunities	2.27	1.43
NUMBER OF CASES	101	

a Mean scores on a Likert-type scale ranging from 1 for Never used to 7 for Always used.

b Mean scores on a Likert-type scale ranging from 1 for Not at all to 7 for Very much.

c Mean scores on a Likert-type scale ranging from 1 for Strongly disagree to 7 for Strongly agree.

TABLE 2

Regression of Preparation for Professional Practice on Teaching Methods used and Characteristics of Practice Context

Predetermined Variables	B	Beta
METHODS USED[a]		
Respond to student self-evaluation	.317*	.272*
Co-counselling with student	.138	.240
Group supervision	.053	.119
Review taped interview	-.067	-.147
Review written material	-.125	-.163
Individual supervision	-.335	-.174
Follow learning contract	-.136	-.177
Direct observation of student	-.181*	-.281*
PRACTICE CONTEXT[b]		
Faculty liaison helps with problems	.387*	.444*
Student has enough practicum hours	.147*	.444*
Enough contact with faculty liaison	.231*	.382*
Adequate knowledge of social work practice theory before field	.247*	.305*
Not enough learning opportunities	.117	.144
Intercept	4.78	
R^2	.46	

* Coefficients significantly different from 0 at $\alpha < .05$.

a Scores on a Likert-type scale ranging from 1 for Never used to 7 for Used always.

b Scores on a Likert-type scale ranging from 1 for Strongly disagree to 7 for Strongly agree.

TABLE 3

Regression of Preparation for Professional Practice on Educational Focus of Field Instruction and Characteristics of Practice Context

Predetermined Variables	B	Beta
FOCUS[a]		
Intervention skills	.255*	.226*
Recording-Report writing	.236*	.217*
Understanding agency	.240	.192
Interviewing skills	.227	.175
Helping relationships	.112	.103
Theory-practice integration	.089	.083
Professional values	.081	.064
Assessment	-.015	-.007
Termination skills	-.054	-.016
Managing workload	-.027	-.024
Evaluating process	-.108	-.089
Social work roles	-.141	-.161
Student-Supervisor relationship	-.165	-.161
Analyzing interviews	-.220*	-.241*
PRACTICE CONTEXT[b]		
Faculty liaison helps with problems	.311*	.355*
Adequate knowledge of social work practice theory before field	.229*	.265*
Not enough learning opportunities	.024	.027
Student has enough practicum hours	.020	.027
Enough contact with faculty liaison	-.027	-.042
Intercept	1.24	
R^2	.41	

* Coefficients significantly different from 0 at $\alpha < .05$.

a Scores on a Likert-type scale ranging from 1 for not at all to 7 for very much.

b Scores on a Likert-type scale ranging from 1 for strongly disagree to 7 for strongly agree.

BEYOND RHETORIC: U.S. LITERACY CAMPAIGNS IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

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Abstract Several times in the twentieth century, the United States has set out to eradicate literacy, yet little research has been done on the nature of these past campaigns. This paper will exanube these literacy campaigns in order to better understand their context and meaning.

Introduction

Until the late nineteenth century, the teaching of literacy to adults was usually an afterthought, embodying little reflection on adult learning or needs. It was not uncommon for teachers to open evening schools for adolescents and adults, but the processes and methods of teaching were those used with children. In the twentieth century, the growing awareness of the special needs and circumstances of adult learning. followed national and local policy initiatives aimed at the eradication of illiteracy. These various campaigns have received varying degrees of public support, but an analysis of their purposes can provide some knowledge about the differing meanings and goals of literacy education.

This paper will begin to analyze the overt goals of these campaigns as well as their relationship to other social issues and circumstances. Ideas about literacy have changed over time, and the rhetoric of literacy campaigns reflects this change. Specifically, this paper will briefly examine the literacy campaigns of the early 20th century; the two World Wars; and the post-war period, culminating in the Great Society programs of the 1960s.

Literacy education has changed as society's perception of what was needed has expanded. These efforts were frequently tied to notions of social cohesion and economic imperatives. The history of adult literacy education in the United States can be roughly divided into four nondiscrete periods. During the first period, which lasted until about 1800, there was little distinction between literacy education for children and adults. Initially viewed as an instrument of religion, literacy also came to be tied to community membership and economic mobility. As literacy among white males became almost universal in the United States, illiteracy also came to be seen not only as an instrument for mobility and salvation, but also a virtue in and of itself. Merely the acquisition of literacy would change the individual. It would in effect socialize people who were not part of the mainstream culture. A new stigma was placed on illiterates. Not only were they unable to compete in the marketplace, but they were viewed as lacking in the prerequisites for social intercourse. In an increasingly diverse population, literacy provided access to common views and mores. (Soltow and Stevens, 1981).

Toward the end of the nineteenth century there was a genuine shift in both purpose and approach to the teaching of adults.

Literacy became a political issue as the influx of new immigrants raised questions about the American concept of community. In addition, following the first World War, literacy came to be seen as a necessary part of modern life. Without it, individuals, and even regions were seriously handicapped. With this new sense of mission, new literacy campaigns were launched, on local and state-wide levels. As illiteracy came to be identified as a social problem to be obliterated, greater attention was focused on the development of methods and materials appropriate to adults. This movement gave great impetus to the development of the developming adult education movement, while it was also a beneficiary of the increased attention to adult learning by these adult educators.

Thus, the development of a national literacy policy was predicated on a notion of modernization and specifically the necessity of certain basic skills for national growth and prosperity. Until the mid-twentieth century, illiteracy was not fundamentally a governmental concern within the United States. As literacy has become more closely tied to functional participation in modern society, the federal and state governments have taken a more active position in its promotion.

Literacy and Modernization

The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries shift in perceptions of literacy drew on the previous view of literacy as a social virtue but added to it the idea that it was necessary for proper functioning in modern life. Thus, the necessity of integration and consensus was merged with the perception that the new economic order required literacy. The lack of literacy was a disability to be remedied and literacy became a symbol of acceptance into modern American society. By 1916, Talbot would write:

> Literacy is the first requisite for democracy. Unless means are provided for reaching the illiterate and the near-illiterate, every social problem must remain needlessly complex and slow of solution, because social and representative government rests upon an implied basis of universal ability to read and write. (p.5)

The period before World War I saw a dramatic change in public perceptions about illiteracy. While in 1910, few had seen illiteracy as a major social problem, by 1920 its eradication had become an accepted idea. Several notable attempts to teach adults basic literacy were inaugurated during this period. One of the most prominent was the Moonlight Schools movement which began in Kentucky and eventually led to state and national campaigns against illiteracy. The first Moonlight School was established in Kentucky in 1911, arising out of the human need "to emancipate from illiteracy all those enslaved in its bondage." (Stewart, 1922, p.9) Initially, the structure of the schools was similar to that found elsewhere. Regular school buildings were used and classes were staffed by volunteer teachers taught the classes, and also recruited the students. From the beginning, special

materials for adults were developed. A weekly newspaper served as a reader. Using simple words, repetition "and a content that related to the activity of the reader", the newspaper was a tool linked the student's experience with classroom activity. (Stewart, 1922, p.21). In addition, the sentences used were designed to motivate the student and provoke discussion. According to Stewart the newspaper had four primary purposes: to teach adults to read without the humiliation of using children's texts; to give the students a sense of dignity by reading something with value; to stimulate curiosity about local events; to provide information about improvements in other districts and thus stimulate the students to think about local improvements. (Stewart, 1922).

The Moonlight Schools quickly spread to other counties and regions. In 1914, Kentucky established a Commission on Illiteracy, which launched a statewide literacy campaign. The idea spread to other states, so that the period between 1911 and 1918 saw state-wide campaigns begun throughout the country. State funding however, was minimal, and most of the efforts were subsidized through private philanthropic efforts and staffed by volunteers. For Stewart, the whole movement to eradicate illiteracy was linked to a vision of the New South. Illiteracy not only hindered individual prosperity and social integration, but also held back the entire region. (Stewart, 1922, Estes, 1988).

While the Moonlight Schools exemplify a regional effort to modernize, Americanization programs were concerned with what was perceived to be a threat the "American" way of life. While programs which taught the foreign-born were certainly not new, the period before World War I with its rising xenophobia contributed to a push to Americanize the immigrants. This involved the teaching of language and basic skills, homemaking and childrearing, and classes in citizenship and culture. Programs were offered in a wide variety of locales but public schools to community agencies. Some were sponsored by schools or industry, while others were supported by the local ethnic organizations. Programs offered by neighborhood and ethnic organizations were often successful, the government-sponsored programs were abysmal failures. One survey completed in 1916 found Americanization programs strikingly ineffective. With a high rate of drop-outs, poor teachers, and inadequate teaching materials, the conclusion was that little was being accomplished. (Miller, 1916).

In the twentieth century, literacy had taken on a new meaning. Those who lacked it were seen as outsiders and non-contributors to modern society. In both cases literacy was but one of many "social maladjustments" exhibited by the different populations being helped. The educational experience went far beyond merely learning to read and write to include information on American work ethic, personal habits and social customs, as well as ethical values.

The Dimensions of Literacy as Federal Policy

While the federal government was involved in Americanization,

its input and financial support was limited. It was not until the relief programs of the Great Depression of the 1930s, that there was notable federal participation. Yet, the efforts were more concerned with work relief than illiteracy. One of the broadest federal efforts in literacy education took place when the Works Progress Administration (WPA) initiated programs as a way of hiring unemployed teachers. According to some estimates, 1.3 million adults became literate through such programs. The WPA programs were experimental, attempting to use new techniques and methods to reach previously excluded populations. In the South and in Northern cities, programs were offered to African Americans, and half a million African Americans learned to read and write. Yet, these programs did not represent any shift in governmental educational priorities, but was merely a response to an emergency situation. (Tyack, Lowe, and Hansot, 1984).

For many, the levels of illiteracy which surfaced during the World War I raised a profound moral problem which needed solution. The first World War demonstrated that there were striking numbers of illiterate Americans, while during the second World War innovative methods for teaching were developed. The disclosure that 25% of those tested for the draft at the beginning of World War I were found to be illiterate was considered a national scandal with widespread implications for the fighting of the war. These scores raised questions about the conduct of the war modern warfare was becoming more sophisticated and required higher levels of education than previously. Thus, basic literacy was considered essential to the success of the war. Because American participation in World War I was brief and demobilization rapid, the government never fully dealt with the issues raised. But it surfaced again with the advent of World War II. Initially, there had been no literacy requirement for service, but because of concerns over the ability of illiterates to follow written orders, a directive was issued in May, 1941 limiting draft registration to those who at reached at least the fourth grade in school. This resulted in a large number of deferrals and there was increasing concern that the policy would result in manpower shortages in key areas, because only the most educated were being drafted. (Cook, 1977).

As a result of concern over a shortage of draftable men a new directive was issued stating that men who could understand English and were intelligent enough to absorb military training, could be inducted. But once the decision was made to accept illiterates, it became necessary to train them. Literacy was still considered vital for minimal functioning within the service. Special Training Units provided the basic education. Within the units, a specialized approach to teaching literacy was developed. This involved a functional approach focusing on the teaching of reading within the context of adjustment to Army life. Efforts were made to relate the materials and instruction to different aspects of service life. Studies found that this effort was generally quite successful. One report indicated a success rate of between 60-95%. This war effort was deemed successful, although serious questions were raised about its applicability to

civilian life. Illiteracy continued to be viewed as a major problem although the advantages of coordinated national efforts were clear. (Cook, 1977; Goldberg, 1951).

The postwar period was marked by a desire to translate the experience of the wartime educational programs to peacetime institutions. The target groups were often African Americans, who had the highest illiteracy rates in the country. The federal programs, however, had moved away from the notion of individual mobility as a goal. Instead policy and funding was based on the recognition that valuable manpower resources were being wasted because of the inability to attain literacy. This lost manpower meant that valuable resources were not being properly utilized and that productivity was thereby lessened. (Ginzberg and Bray, 1953). While scattered programs were developed in the 1950s, widespread efforts at literacy education did not take place until the funding of Lyndon Johnson's Great Society programs in the 1960s. These programs were the first to allocate funds directly to literacy education and research. Literacy was viewed as essential for minimal participation in modern society. Thus, job training, and other economic and social welfare programs could not succeed before individuals had gained functional literacy which was defined as an eighth grade education. The Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962 (MDTA), the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, and the Adult Education Act of 1966 all designated federal funds for literacy programs. Special programs for adults were developed utilizing new technology, particularly television, new materials. Even the Armed Forces experimen-ted with what has been termed "essentially a War on Poverty program". Under Project 100,000 marginally were inducted into the Armed Forces and taught basic literacy skills. What was unique about the program and made it important for the future was the emphasis on the simultaneous acquisition of basic skills and vocational training. Rather than seeing basic literacy as a prerequisite to other training, Project 100,000 experimented in combining the two, with good results. (Sticht et al, 1987, p.9).

In the 1970s and 1980s, much of the focus on literacy as a manpower issue remained, with federal monies directed toward development of better teaching methods, curricula, materials, and diagnostic and evaluation tools. Among the most controversial was the nationally funded movement away from evaluation by grade-level to measure of competency - Adult Performance Levels (APL). Although highly contentious at the time, this effort to establish minimal competency levels indicated a new level of governmental concern in literacy education.

Conclusion

As we again embark on a new campaign for universal literacy it is important to examine carefully, the meaning that such campaigns have had in the past. Literacy (or more aptly illiteracy) has often been used as a scapegoat, that is, as both the cause and the result of poverty and other social problems. It is important to examine closely the varying relationships between illiteracy and social problems in order to understand how the

concepts are being used. This paper could only raise some of the initial questions necessary to a fuller understanding of U.S. government participation in literacy education for adults. The choice of education as a means of intervention to ameliorate specific social problems brings with it a host of issues which need to be recognized. Literacy is not a value-neutral term. Rather it has come to mean a variety of skills which can be used to social integration or exclusion. As illiteracy and hence literacy education have emerged as important aspects of governmental policy and economic planning, it is essential to look beneath the surface of the claims of various proponents and to place these programs into proper perspective.

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Volunteers as Learners and Educators: Adult Learning and Education in African-American Women's Voluntary Associations

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The purpose of the current project was to seek information regarding adult learning and educative efforts of African-American women within the context of women's voluntary associations.

Statement of the Problem

Recent research in adult education has included a focus on the self-directed learning efforts of adults. Self-education efforts of adults have been studied both to better understand naturally occurring learning processes and to identify ways in which adult educators might better facilitate adult learning. This work has not typically involved minority adults, and has emphasized the efforts of individual learners rather than learning groups. Yet, the study of self-directed learning groups functioning within minority communities may yield greater insights into the processes of group learning in this context and help identify ways in which adult educators may facilitate such learning.

Voluntary organizations of African-American women have a long history of pursuing goals related to both individual and community improvement (Porter, 1936). These efforts have often required education of members, the community of interest, and sometimes the general public (Neverdon-Morton, 1982). Skills in community action and leadership are also often learned within the context of women's associations. This provides a rich context for the study of adult learning among a seldom-studied population.

Background

Recent studies have begun to give us more information about adult learning and education in minority communities under sponsorship of groups other than educational institutions (Briscoe & Ross, 1989). Yet, much of this contemporary research is historical, focusing often on groups which existed at the turn of the century or earlier (Muraskin, 1976; Neverdon-Morton, 1982; De Vaughan, 1986). Blacks have a long-standing tradition of participation in community-based voluntary organizations. Findings indicating a disproportionately high rate of participation by working class Blacks have generated much discussion among sociologists (Babchuk & Thompson, 1962; Florin, Jones and Wandersman, 1987; Olsen, 1970). Over the years this analysis has moved from an initial interpretation of participation as a pathological means of compensating for a lack of access to the mainstream society, to interpretations which explore cognitive social learning and ethnic identity variables which may make certain individuals or ethnic groups more inclined to participate than other minority group members.

Learning activities often inherent in the work of voluntary associations and community action groups have recently been documented (Boggs, 1986; Dean & Dowling, 1987; Percy, 1988; Whitmore, Sappington, Compton & Green, 1988). The individualistic orientation of professional adult education has led us to focus more often on individual learners and psychological orientations and less often on learning groups and sociological dimensions of learning (Boggs, 1987; Keddie, 1983). Yet, recent research on cooperative learning among learners of all ages (Johnson, Johnson & Holubec, 1986) and on prevalence of field-dependent learning style preferences among minority learners in particular (Anderson, 1988) suggests that we may learn much from the investigation of minority adults in informal learning groups.

Finally, recent attention to the roles of women in adult education provides the rationale for one further aspect of this investigation. In the past little has been documented of the contributions of

women as leaders and learners in adult education, and less has been said of women of color. Recent work by adult educators and social scientists has helped us gain a better understanding of adult development in women and women's ways of deriving knowledge (Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger & Tarule, 1986; Gilligan, 1982; Luttrell, 1988). From these studies, we know that women's development is often influenced by their relationships to others and that women often incorporate connected and intuitive ways of knowing. Revisionist histories have also revealed heretofore unknown data on women's roles in formal and nonformal adult education. Among recent studies, Neverdon-Morton (1982) has discussed Black women's involvement in educative activities in self-help programs in the South at the turn of the century. At least two authors have also taken a look at women's contemporary roles as community builders (Gilkes, 1983; Reinharz, 1984). While neither of these authors sought to study the educational activities of women or their organizations, each describes intentional adult learning in the context of community improvement. Gilkes data indicate a relationship between Black women's involvement in community improvement efforts and their motivations for further formal education and professional status. This emerging body of research suggests a logical basis for looking specifically at women's learning within the voluntary group context.

Research Questions

Several questions guided the research process:

1. To what extent are group leaders and members involved in efforts to educate others?
2. What do group members identify as important learning that has occurred as a result of their participation in the group?
3. How do women involved in community-based voluntary associations go about learning the skills/processes needed to pursue organizational goals?
4. What unmet learning needs do group members identify for themselves?
5. What unmet learning needs do group members identify for their organizations?
6. How do group members compare learning in this context to learning in more formal learning environments?

Research Methodology

Because the need for theory generation in this area suggests the value of phenomenological research which investigates the meaning that minority adults make of their own learning, face-to-face interviews were the primary data source for this study.

Selection Process

Black women's community-based organizations in a large midwestern city were identified which represented several orientations of interest (civic, service, political, advocacy, education). Directories of associations, local human service providers, and "snowball" sampling techniques (Goetz & Le Compte, 1984) were used to identify a pool of groups for potential study. Leaders of 15 organizations were first contacted by phone, then sent a letter explaining the study along with a brief questionnaire. Through the questionnaire they were asked to identify origins and aims of their group, size of membership, and scope of activities during the last year. Specific questions were directed at determining the extent to which the groups emphasized organizational aims of community education, community service, or advocacy/community action, Following analysis of the brief questionnaire, six organization leaders were asked to provide the names and addresses of five or six other members who would be willing to act as participants in the study if contacted for interviews. They were asked to provide names of individuals who varied in level of experience in the focus group, and to the extent known, similar women's groups.

Data Collection

Semi-structured, open-ended interviews were conducted individually with four to five women from each of the six participating groups. Interviews ranged in length from 40 minutes to 1-1/2 hours; most commonly they lasted 45-50 minutes. The semi-structured interview guide provided a common framework for questioning, yet allowed the researcher to probe, clarify, and seek amplification as warranted during the interview (Patton, 1980). With consent of the participants interviews were tape-recorded. Twenty-five of the twenty-eight interview tapes were transcribed verbatim and coded for emerging themes. Three tapes could not be transcribed completely. In these cases the interviews were reconstructed from notes and useable portions of the tape.

Data Analysis

Since interviewees often gave responses relevant to planned interview questions prior to the designated point in the interview, the first step in data analysis was to read each interview transcript and mark sections related to each question. Preliminary labels were identified in the margins at this stage as coding categories began to emerge. Next, comments related to each question were extracted and compiled separately. A reading of the data organized in the fashion led to the assignment of descriptive labels next to each key statement. Finally, the labels which identified the statements were read to determine categories into which they might be classified. Validation of the emerging themes by selected participants and inter-rater consistency checks of assignment of categories will be completed subsequent to this writing and prior to presentation of the study.

Description of the Data

Participants

Participants ranged in age from 27 to 70 with a median age of 47.5. Fifty-seven percent of the women interviewed were in their 30s or 40s. Most of the six groups reflected a wide age range, spanning 20-35 years age difference. Rarely was this the group in focus the first organization for which the participants had volunteered. All had lived in the city where the study was conducted for a period of at least 10 years, 25% had lived there all their lives and 67% had lived there for 20 or more years. The vast majority of the women were employed at the time of the interview (89%) and several of the unemployed were now retired. The occupations of the 28 women could be classified as within Education (8), Business (5), Nursing and Health Professions (5), Law (3), Social Services (3) and Government (1). Fifty-seven percent were currently married. Of the 20 women (71%) with children, only 6 had children under 21. All but two of the women reported some college education, with 82% holding at least a bachelor's degree and 57% reporting post-graduate coursework or degrees. The sample included three women with professional degrees and two with doctorates. The typical participant, then, could be described as well-educated, employed, married, and with adult or adolescent children.

Themes Emerging from the Data

Educative Functions. Participants from each of the organizations provided examples of group activities aimed at educating some segment of the local African-American community. The largest segment of their educative efforts was devoted to educating youth, including academic tutoring, career awareness programs, cultural enrichment activities, and programs on teen pregnancy and drugs. One organization once operated a group home for predelinquent youth, and now maintains a focus on educational opportunities for at-risk youth. Educative activities aimed at adult members of the community included (a) public awareness of the groups' activities; (b) cultural programming (dance, art, theater, and African-American history); (c) health education (lupus, cancer-prevention); (d) adult literacy; (e) community-based education for single parents and the homeless; and (f) intercultural programs on South Africa.

Important Learning in the Organizational Context. Interview questions were asked regarding skills, information, attitudes, and knowledge about working in groups learned through organizational participation. When asked about skills acquired through performance of organizational functions, members focused primarily on learning related to internal group processes and tasks (tolerance, patience, diplomacy, supervision, collaborative involvement and a variety of communication and interpersonal skills). Relatively few comments focused on external tasks (e.g. fundraising) and external relationships (e.g. working with "authorities" or youth). When asked specifically about new information or knowledge, participants discussed not only content-specific knowledge but also process-related knowledge, how-to knowledge, systems knowledge, and changes in attitudes Content knowledge gains were related as expected to the kinds of projects groups were engaged in; thus knowledge on the status of youth, health, the arts, drugs, and Africa were mentioned. Also mentioned was a growing understanding of politics. Responses to questions about attitudinal change could be categorized according to attitudes about self, others and the organization. Most of the comments focused on attitudes toward others -- including patience, trust, acceptance, respect, tolerance, and cultural sensitivity. Participant responses about working in groups included selected comments regarding task-related skills, personal role in groups, awareness of member "types" and appreciation for the political impact of groups. The majority of the responses, however, emphasized aspects of group process. Participants have learned a great deal about democratic processes in the group, as reflected by comments on the value of "equal" vs. authoritarian leaders, the importance of gaining cooperation, the necessity to work together to contribute more, and the use of diplomacy.

When asked to reflect on the most valuable learning associated with their participation in the group comments were broadly distributed in terms of learning about self (e.g. not to take things personally), others (e.g. accept people where they are), dimensions of group process and impact of groups, and generalizable skills or strategies (e.g. networking).

Methods of Learning. Respondents reported a variety of means of learning. Relatively rarely did they mention reading, structured orientation programs, or manuals. Most often they learned by experience, interaction with others (often mentors), or observation. Comments about how individuals helped others in the group acquire knowledge or skills, and how they in turn have been helped, revealed an informal but well-established system of apprenticeship. More experienced group members often "volunteer" or recruit new members into leadership roles, then assist them in meeting the responsibilities they have been assigned. Formal training of members includes primarily the sponsorship of speakers, seminars and workshops as needed relative to specific projects, and in some cases orientation for new members. Organizational manuals, group retreats, and sponsorship of members to other learning opportunities (e.g. a local leadership program) served as supplementary methods of educating members. The informal system seemed to generate much of the more memorable learning.

Unmet Learning Needs. For themselves, members expressed interest in learning needs relating to personal development, group enhancement, and development of external contacts. Most frequently mentioned was an interest in knowing more about fundraising and grant proposal writing. When asked what they perceived to be the greatest learning needs of their groups, a couple of the respondents declined to second-guess the needs of their groups. Comments made by others were fairly equally divided in focus on (a) leadership/group process/ organizational development (b) securing funds and (c) specific content knowledge. One participant discussed the need for someone to assist the group in coalition building with other groups so that efforts of the various organizations could be publicized, coordinated, and supported by all.

Comparison of Learning in Formal and Organizational Contexts. Formal learning was portrayed as structured, absolute vs. relative, non-voluntary, controlled by instructors, and emphasizing facts and theory to the exclusion of real-world applications. On the other hand, the majority of participants comments focused on the positive aspects of learning in the group. They

stressed primarily the experiential aspects of such learning embedded in real-life situations; individual control of selection of goals, timing, and methods; and the value of learning through interaction with others. Their descriptions of learning accomplished in the group clearly match traditional conceptions of "good" adult education, unlike their classroom experiences.

Conclusions

This study provides evidence of extensive learning in the informal learning context of voluntary associations with a community service orientation. While data analysis is still in the process of refinement, several conclusions can be drawn regarding the findings thus far. As with a recent study by Whitmore et al. (1988) learning about internal group dynamics represents the largest area of learning reported by respondents. This type of learning has been categorized by Habermas (1971) as 'practical' learning related to communicative action. Despite a historical emphasis on group processes and group dynamics in the field of adult education, relatively little of recent research in the area of self-directed and informal learning has focused on this dimension of adult learning and education. The participants' value for this type of learning as well as emphasis on interactive processes in describing learning methods used within the group suggests an area for further investigation. The informal apprenticeship system operating within the groups also suggests a value for the kind of connected knowing mentioned in previous literature on women's "ways of knowing" (Belenky et al. 1976).

Although participants may not have explicated the learning processes involved in their organizational participation prior to the interview, all were able to identify examples of their learning. They also readily made comparisons between learning in this context and learning in more formal settings, showing a decided preference for the experiential, self-directed, and interactive learning occurring in their groups. This was true despite the fact that most of the respondents had completed education at the baccalaureate level or above, with several engaged in or planning graduate education. This preference needs to be explored further to determine its prevalence among similar learners, and to determine their acceptance of formal learning using similar strategies. The primary unmet learning needs identified by participants related to securing funds for their groups and increasing understanding and skills relative to group processes and leadership. Adult educators may be viewed as a resource in facilitating this learning, but are not likely to be identified by such groups as resource people if they are associated with traditional school learning.

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Applying Action Science to Collective Knowledge Generation in a Professional Development Program

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Abstract The paper analyses features of a professional development program from the standpoint of action science in order to illuminate potential contributions of action science to adult education research and practice.

This is a conference on adult education research. A central focus is on discussing research in order to better understand and resolve issues important to adult education practice. Thus it is especially important that we give attention to how we conceive of research and whether our conceptions hold promise for actually enhancing our practice.

Donald Schon in Educating the Reflective Practitioner argues that practitioners, or at least those beyond the novice level, do not simply select alternative solutions from pre-existing research-based knowledge and then apply them to problems of practice. He asserts that knowledge exists within action. Professionals make judgments and carry out actions using knowledge that is only revealed in their actions. Sometimes through reflection they can describe the knowledge implicit in their action and other times they cannot (Schon, 1989, p. 44). When they encounter unstructured, indeterminate situations, as they frequently do, they reflect while they are acting, creating constructions of the situation that allow them to take action within it.

Of course, neither I nor Schon are proposing that research-based knowledge is of no value to practice. It provides a source for inventing action knowledge, and for critically reflecting on action knowledge. Novices, in particular, often rely on general rules to guide their actions because they lack sufficient prior experience to intuitively grasp and differentiate important from unimportant aspects of complex situations (Dreyfus and Dreyfus, 1986, in Cervero, 1988). The distinguishing characteristic of expert performance, however, is the ability to apply knowing and reflecting in action (Schon 1987, p. 43).

Schon devotes his attention to educating for reflective practice. The basic concept is that education should give greater attention to helping learners reflect on their tacit theories of action, to make them more explicit and in doing so to subject them to critical scrutiny. Furthermore the learning of action knowledge requires opportunities also to observe, practice and reflect on reflection in action - the real life decision processes one employs in practice situations. As Cervero so aptly points out, focusing on action knowledge should not result in a glorifying of professional's knowledge mistakenly asserting that the way things are is the way they should be. Rather action knowledge should be rigorously examined and justified on the basis of public criteria.

One who has taken up the challenge of proposing a more rigorous approach to understanding and using action knowledge is Chris Argyris. He described a concept of action science in a book of the same title (Argyris, et al., 1985).

Action science seeks to promote learning in a community of practice and simultaneously to build a more general form of knowledge regarding action. Facilitating learning is implicit in this endeavor. Through action science actors within a community of social

practice make their beliefs, values and actions explicit and reflect critically on them within a community of inquiry. Their critical reflections generate new knowledge and practice.

Action science seeks to identify and verify (Argyris et al., 1987, p. 233) the theories of actors that predictably produce specified results in action settings. The idea is that more or less stable patterns of interaction are created and maintained by human actors as members of communities of social practice. The knowledge of these practices and effects generated by action science must be falsifiable by practitioners in real-life contexts, must be useful for human implementation in an action context and must speak to the forming of purposes as well as the means to achieve them. Action science has a moral as well as epistemic aspect. Those engaged in action science seek to improve the world by advancing publicly testable normative beliefs that challenge the status quo (Argyris et al., 1987, p. 70, 74).

Data Collection Methods include reported recollections of actions and speech, reflection on the underlying rules that govern the way participants reason and act, direct observations of participants in action, and action experiments in which community members observe behavior and inquire into thinking and feeling associated with the behavior. Participants may prepare written cases or may report on cases through interviews. Data analysis seeks to make explicit the propositional logic embedded in social action, and to represent the knowledge constructed from such propositions. Three tools are used: abstract models, the ladder of inference and mapping (at the individual and/or organizational level) (Argyris et al., 1987, p. 240, 247).

As a means of examining some of the implications of action science for adult education I would like to consider a recent professional development program with this framework in mind. The program was not explicitly designed as an action science endeavor, however, as the design team invented a model for expanding, challenging, and advancing the knowledge of veteran professionals an action oriented approach became more and more central.

The program Expanding Leadership was commissioned by the central administrative council to provide an in-depth, elective, mid career experience for Cooperative Extension County Agents, an experience that would advance their program leadership capabilities. We were asked to give special attention to volunteerism, to leadership development of clientele and to strategies appropriate for addressing societal issues of broad concern. Thirty-one Wisconsin agents and two agents each from Minnesota and Iowa took part. Program specializations included agriculture, community development, home economics and 4-H youth development.

The program progressed through three phases. For the first three months participants studied independently using a notebook of readings and exercises as a vehicle for reflecting on their programming. Two short telephone conferences for all participants were conducted to stimulate, support and acknowledge the learning taking place through independent study. In the second phase participants were divided into multi-program area teams on the basis of geographic proximity. Each team met via teleconference to share their individual projects and to begin building team unity in anticipation of phase three.

For the final phase of the program the participants met in a working conference for five days in LaCrosse, Wisconsin. During the week together they took part in four types of activity. About seven hours interspersed through the week were devoted to structured

presentations or exercises led by resource people. For a half day participants met in self selected topical areas to exchange resources and know-how. Each participant team spent a full day in a case study visit to a county in either Minnesota or Iowa where they examined partnership efforts underway to address local issues of concern. For the last day and a half the teams met, deliberated and developed strategies in two areas. Each team served as a consultant to each of its members helping them refine their individual project plans and activities. More significantly each team collaborated in developing a set of guidelines for issues programming partnerships. They reflected on their own practice, on what they observed in their case study visit, and on the ideas in presentations and resource materials. Then they constructed their own set of guidelines. Each team subsequently selected two guidelines and prepared and gave a team presentation for the full group. The team presentations were recorded on video tape for later dissemination. Following the conference the design team integrated the six sets of guidelines and produced a unified written version.

One month later, 27 of 31 participants provided an evaluation of the experience (Steele et al., 1989). They completed a set of structured questions and used one of three options for commenting in their own words. The options were sending a tape recording, submitting a written statement, or completing a telephone interview.

The following evaluation findings are highlighted for the insights they offer to the ensuing discussion regarding professional development as action science. As overall indications of the perceived value of the experience participants rated the amount they gained from taking part , and the contribution to their professional growth on a scale of 0 to 5. Results appear in Table 1.

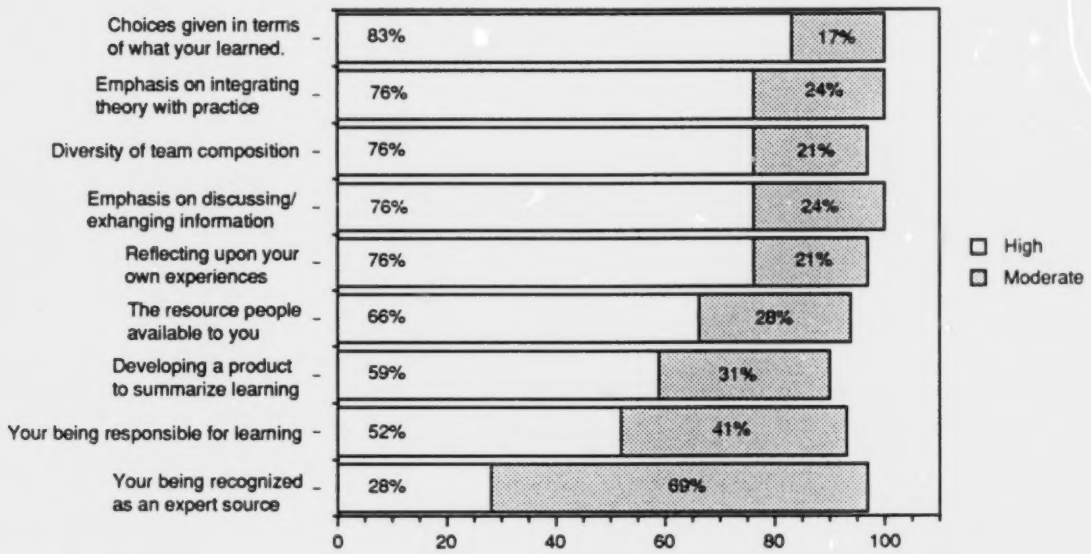
A brief inspection indicates that six out of 10 rated the program highly on each indicator. Equally apparent is the finding that community development agents were less satisfied with the experience than any of the other three agent groups.

Table 1
Ratings of Overall Gain and Professional Growth

	Rating	Total	Agric.	CNRD	4-H	Home Econ.
Gain						
High	4 or 5	20	5	1	3	11
Moderate	2 or 3	6	1	3	1	1
Low	0 or 1	2	0	2	0	0
Contribution to professional growth						
High	4 or 5	18	5	1	3	9
Moderate	2 or 3	7	1	2	1	3
Low	0 or 1	2	0	2	0	0

Another set of interesting findings pertained to reactions to design elements featured in the program. Participants rated how appropriate each element was for them. Table 2 presents the results.

Table 2
Design Elements



While very few agents gave a low (0-1) rating to any of the design elements some preferences emerge upon analysis of the moderate versus high ratings. Participants highly valued choice, diversity, reflection and group exchange. Some, however, were apprehensive about assuming personal responsibility for their learning and about crediting their own expertise.

About two thirds of the participants offered reactions in their own words. In one way or another many expressed a common theme. They signed up for the program because it was a special opportunity and because it addressed an important, timely topic. However, they were not clear about the kind of learning experience in which they were enrolling. As more information about the program was communicated they heard statements about personal responsibility for learning, about drawing on the resources of participants, and about emphasis on experience and reflection rather than presentation. Not having experienced this approach many were not sure what type of design would have these characteristics. Thus most arrived in LaCrosse with many questions, some apprehensions and in some cases frustration. They were then surprised by the actual experience, finding it to be different than their hazy image. Despite entering an uncertain, novel learning situation most indicated the actual experience was very worthwhile and exceeded their expectations.

Discussion

The Expanding Leadership Program clearly sought to foster reflective practice in Cooperative Extension. However, while some features of action learning and of action science were employed, others were not. Participants were invited to examine their practice and that of others, to share their reflections with colleagues and to collaboratively sift and winnow the resulting insights in order to produce a form of action knowledge, the guidelines on issues programming partnerships. The emphasis on generating knowing in action, however, considerably exceeded the emphasis on understanding reflection in action. Thus while participants worked hard to construct practice guidelines the processes by which they framed practice situations and invented solutions were not scrutinized.

The action knowledge produced by Expanding Leadership participants appears to partially meet the three criteria Argyris establishes. The guidelines are clearly instructive for action in real situations. They do speak to alternative purposes by clearly valuing some approaches and ends over others. For example, the guidelines advocate efforts to equalize power in partnerships, a practice contrary to typical Extension/clientele relationships. However, there is some question, whether the guidelines as stated are subject to empirical test and disconfirmation in real settings. While they advocate certain actions they do not consistently state likely consequences under real life situations.

The approach used to produce guidelines also differed somewhat from the action science model of Argyris. He advocates a small group inquiry focused on real action cases and carefully guided by an expert action scientist. The role of the action scientist is significant because Argyris believes practitioners typically employ reflective processes that are highly subject to error. They have great difficulty grasping the flaws in their theories in use and in inventing new verifiable alternative approaches. The action scientist is an essential guide and mentor. In the Expanding Leadership Program the design team played a facilitative role with some teams as they sought to create partnership guidelines. The role was more that of collaborator, however, than one of action science guide or mentor.

What can we derive about the value of action science as a means of research and professional development in adult education based on the incomplete application of the model in this program? This analysis raises more questions than answers, but a few insights can be offered. First it appears that collaborative, practitioner-driven inquiry can yield valuable learning experiences for professionals even when they are not familiar with or looking for such a design. The mixing of diverse perspectives within a setting where individual choice is emphasized seems to generate valuable learning. It is also apparent, however, that some participants may not benefit from this approach. A puzzling paradox arises here. Ostensibly, reflective practice is the dominant approach of individuals with extensive experience-based expertise. Why then do community development agents gain the least from an action-based professional development program that focuses on community partnerships. Of all the agent groups community development agents are most experienced in this area.

The answer may lie in the perceptions of learners regarding the validity of action knowledge. One sometimes hears reference to "shared ignorance" when practitioner discussions are emphasized in professional development. While practitioners enjoy such sessions they sometimes have the view that valid, new knowledge comes from expert

specialists or highly experienced veterans of exemplary practice situations and not from peers exchanging shop worn war stories. Such an attitude might diminish the perceived value of action learning. It would be likely in a mixed group that the most highly experienced participants (e.g., the community development agents) would perceive the least value in collaborative discussions with less experienced peers.

Unfortunately if this hypothesis is correct it also leads to erroneous conclusions because it neglects the role of reflection in action. Less experienced colleagues may lack the extensive knowing in action of their more experienced partners, however, they may be highly effective in the skills of reflecting in action and such skills can aid in the learning of more experienced counterparts. To dismiss the critical scrutiny which persons of differing experience bases can bring to bear on each others practices is to miss a valuable source of creative learning.

The preceding analysis also sheds light on the data regarding reactions to program design elements. In most respects participants valued the collaborative, reflective, experience based approach. However, they were reluctant to assume responsibilities for directing their own learning or for serving as a source of expertise. Given the complexities of real life partnership situations it is not surprising that individuals are reluctant to take responsibility for providing or inventing practical "expert" knowledge though they are pleased to absorb it from others in collaborative efforts. The dilemma of course is that only when all partners do assume responsibility for their learning and for producing effective knowledge will an action science model achieve its true potential. Thus perhaps Argyris is correct, at least in the early stages, in advocating expert facilitation of the action science process.

The analysis of the Expanding Leadership Program as an exemplar of action science has served to highlight key features of the action oriented approach to research and education. Though Expanding Leadership only partially implemented action science its example does demonstrate the potential value this approach holds for improving professional learning and practice. At the same time the analysis brings home the need for further clarifying the concepts of action science and for further legitimizing its processes and results in the eyes of potential participants.

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EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT APPROACHES ASSOCIATED WITH CARIBBEAN EXTENSION PROGRAMS

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Abstract

Although program development has played a central role in both the literature and practice of adult education, carefully designed research on the practical experience of programmers in an international setting is insufficient. In response, this study identified five educational program development approaches used by frontline officers in Eastern Caribbean national extension services and explored the relationship among approaches used and situational and personal characteristics.

INTRODUCTION

Time, energy, resources, and instruction are being expended on educational program development in non-formal adult education by practitioners, administrators, and professors. Despite this expenditure, however, insufficient carefully designed research has been conducted on the actual practical experiences of local programmers and about major influences on the approaches that are used by the programmers. This lack of knowledge occurs for the Caribbean Agricultural Extension education services and for the field of adult education generally.

To inform both theory and practice, this study aimed to better understand, and explain, program development in the international agricultural extension setting in two ways: first, by examining the educational program planning approaches employed by extension frontline officers, and second, by explaining influences associated with differing approaches.

For the purposes of this study, the "programming approach" was viewed as the particular way in which the adult education instructor addresses the problems and challenges associated with agricultural development. The approach has to do with how the extension officers perceived their roles, and how they went about fulfilling them. By examining programs already conducted and the rationale and decisions for conducting these programs, this study identified both the patterns in developing agricultural educational programs and the primary sources of influence on their program development.

SAMPLE AND METHODOLOGY

Programs of 36 extension officers formed the data base for this research. These agents represented a randomly selected, stratified sample of workers employed by the national extension services of Dominica, Grenada, St. Lucia and St. Vincent, West Indies. The "typical" subject was a male frontline agricultural instructor, 32 years of age, with two years of technical training. He had been employed by the National Ministry of Agriculture for 10 years, in the extension unit for 8.5 years, and in his current position over four years. Semi-structured interviews were employed as the primary means of obtaining data on decisions and decision-making criteria, behavior related to program development processes, influences on the development of educational programs, and biographical information.

The qualitative data was inductively analyzed. This involved coding each incident in the program into an appropriate category, comparing and integrating categories and generating developmental theory. The criteria for final categorization of a case to a program development approach was the result of an analysis of the essence of the approach; attention was given to the interrelationship among program development decisions, to the role the officer played in the decision-making, and to the agent's stated perception of his or her role. The following emerged as discriminators in assigning cases to categories:

- The source or origin of the program.
- The person who established program goals.
- The source or availability of resources.
- The role of the officer.

Case classification was verified by content analysis of planning documents and by discussion with the officers' supervisors and senior administrative staff. Case studies were used to illustrate the characteristics of the approaches. Cross tabulations were selected to explore the associations between approaches and indicators of professionalization.

Analysis of the data indicated that officers could readily identify and describe a program they had planned and implemented, but that, generally, agents conducted little formal analysis of clientele needs, defined program goals broadly, made few attempts to select teaching methods that related to learner characteristics, and conducted no comprehensive evaluation of programs. Most of the programs studied had no formal ending.

PROGRAMMING APPROACHES

Four basic approaches to program development were identified: transactive, personal, institutional and clientele. Several cases did not fit into any of the four categories, and were placed in a fifth or residual category. The officers in the residual category articulated no clear work purposes and the roles they carried out were less educational in nature than those of other officers. Table 1 summarizes the frequency of each programming approach.

Table 1. Frequency Distribution of Programming Approaches

Approach	Frequency of Cases	Percent
Transactive	15	41.7
Agent	8	22.2
Institutional	4	11.1
Clientele	3	8.3
Residual	6	16.7
	36	100.0

Two factors were evident in all transactive programs: first, the agent recognized and acted upon a variety of needs throughout the program's life-cycle. Second, the agent served as a resource linker. Forty-two percent of the officers (15 agents) had a transactive orientation to program development; this approach seemed to be central to the program-development practices of most agents. This percentage supported Havelock's Resource-User Problem-Solving model (1973), which depicted the interactive process that most extension officers use to link those who have a problem with those who can assist in solving the problems. This study, however, illustrates the dynamism and on-going nature of this linkage, and provides definition for resource and user systems in the Caribbean setting. The resource system was both internal and external to the extension organization. It could have included international agencies, commodity associations, and government units other than the Ministry of Agriculture. The user system could have included individual farmers, farm groups, politicians, the programmers and their peers.

The pervasiveness of the use of the transactive approach amplifies the fluid, generative, complex process of community-based programming. Some of the officers who used a transactive approach saw clearly the symbiotic relationship between the resource and users' systems. They initiated, stimulated and reinforced the exchange.

Another reason that the highest percentage of officers used a transactive approach may be that they paid attention and reacted to many different situational and personal factors at the same time. This interpretation is supported by other research that investigated the total program-development process. Pennington and Green (1976) and Dohr and Finley (1979), for example, identified programming as a series of decisions influenced by a variety of perspectives.

INFLUENCES ON PROGRAM DECISION MAKING

A number of factors were found to influence the educational programs related by the respondents, who typically identified these influences as pressures, problem sources, or resources. For example, pressures on the educator to act in certain ways came from clientele, superiors, or coordinating agencies; crisis presented other pressures. These program-decision influences clustered into four categories or systems:

- macro-internal (institutional)
- macro-external (community/market)
- micro-internal (personal/agent)
- micro-external (clientele).

These influence categories are similar to the framework posited by Forest (1988) and others. However, the data from this study suggest an extension of the conceptualization of influences involved in program-development decision making. It appears that the nature, number and dominance of the influences and the congruency or incongruency of those influences and the programmer's reaction to them, shape the programmer's approach and affect program direction and outcomes.

Neither the subject's demographic background nor other indicators of subject's level of professionalization were accurate predictors of approach. Hence, the data indicate that a more fruitful explanation of approach choice is to be found in the environment or in the programmer's personal philosophy, cognitive complexity or integrated functioning.

IMPLICATIONS

For many of the educators in this study, program development was a continuing series of interconnected, context-driven decisions. This dynamic process is often lost in adult-education literature, which tends to focus on the stages or steps for program development, rather than on its cyclical nature. This research concludes that program-development processes do not unfold in logical, orderly stages. Because programmers had to respond to numerous and often competing influences, they usually began their programs without first defining all related problems. They found and implemented solutions before they completely understood the problems at hand and the actions they took early on affected all subsequent decisions. Perhaps now in practice are the new program and curriculum development approaches called for by Apps (1979, p.140) or the non-linear, integrated approaches sketched by Kowalski (1988).

Based on the actual practice of programmers, then, this study suggests an alternative program-development decision-making model from a step-by-step process for program planning that is implied in some teaching and writings. This has implications for the study of program development as well as for administrators, educational programmers and those in staff development both in the United States and international settings.

Implications for Study

In order to enrich the conceptualization of adult education program development and curriculum theory with observation of actual practice, a more dynamic paradigm is needed. The formal language of program development may distort what occurs in practice. Also, much of the program development literature is too mechanistic. It is usually inferred that one starts with situational analysis, then moves to problem identification, needs assessment, objective establishment, curriculum development, and so forth, and concludes with program evaluation. The impression is given that once the program processes are "planned," one proceeds in a purposive static entopic manner.

A more promising conceptualization is integrative and dynamic. This alternative includes the elements of program planning, design, implementation, and evaluation but represents them in a non-mechanistic, dynamic, generative way. Calling the parts "elements" indicates that they are necessary to the programming process, but are not as clear, separate stages nor required in any order.

This generative conceptualization makes a positive contribution to practitioners, program recipients, and the field of adult education. Practitioners need to understand the tensions inherent in competing influences, the resultant stress, the "certain uncertainty." Participants should receive programs which address all parts of a problem and which capitalize on emerging opportunities. The field of adult education needs to explore and exploit the rich but complex environment in which learners reside and the education experience takes place.

A more fruitful investigation strategy, then, is not to focus on the discrete parts of program development, but to look more broadly at the streams of influences on decisions.

Implications for Practice

If, as these data suggest, a dynamic, holistic, fluid conceptualization is a more theoretically sound way to understand program development, there are several implications for those involved in the practice of adult education. Programmers need to be conscious of multiple influences, of the decisions they make, of the perspectives they hold, and of the ways in which they act in the entire programming process.

The congruency-contingency model used in this study has several suggestions for educational programmers: educators need to adequately diagnose systems, they need to determine the location and nature of inconsistent program "fits" and they need to plan courses of action which alter those fits if necessary. The quest is not to find the "one best way" to program, but to determine effective combinations of action that will lead to congruent fits.

It is implied then, that programmers need, in addition to ways of facilitating adult learning, a keen awareness of macro, micro, internal and external influences. They also need to be able to identify key junctures in the decision-making process. If they have a diverse set of skills, programmers will be able to take the most effective and appropriate action in difference situations--whether that action is to assume one approach, to change

approaches during the course of a program, or to manipulate influences to maintain congruency.

If programmers are reflective, they can identify both the influences on their programs and the vulnerability of those influences. In addition, they can identify their own approach preference, and their flexibility, skill, interests, talents and so forth. This identification ultimately enables agents to assess their own strengths, triggers, and weaknesses and to know when they need to ask for help. In short, it allows them to create a strategy for their own personal development.

It would be a disservice to aspiring and practicing professional educators to present adult education in community settings with a static bias. Pre-service and in-service programs need to acknowledge and build upon the contextual nature of extension practice and the reflective judgement that is required in programming. Finally, administrators can support the practice of program development in an ambiguous, changing milieu. They can provide personnel management and operational strategies which reinforce thoughtful, flexible, context-specific program development.

The usefulness of this study can be extended by continuing research in three major areas: programming consistency and stability, programming effectiveness and programming research refinements.

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TRADITIONAL AND REENTRY WOMEN NURSING MAJORS: MOTIVATIONAL FACTORS, VOCATIONAL PERSONALITIES, BARRIERS AND ENABLERS TO PARTICIPATION

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of the study was to determine whether the motivational factors (The Education Participation Scale,Boshier, 1982), vocational personalities (The Vocational Preference Inventory, Holland, 1985), barriers to enrollment, and enabling factors of the reentry women nursing majors were different from those women nursing majors of traditional college age.

The Chain-of-Response Model (Cross, 1981) was adapted as a conceptual framework for the study. Barriers to Enrollment and Enabling Factors questionnaires were compiled by the researcher after a review of the literature and interviews with ten reentry women and ten traditional age nursing majors. The qualitative data were used to strengthen the study by triangulation with quantitative data.

TRADITIONAL AND REENTRY WOMEN NURSING MAJORS: MOTIVATIONAL FACTORS, VOCATIONAL PERSONALITIES, BARRIERS AND ENABLERS TO PARTICIPATION

Introduction

More and more adult learners are becoming involved in higher education. Educators need to know more about the differences between the traditional age college students and the adult learners so that the adult learners can be assisted in the reentry process. The study sought to determine whether the motivational factors, vocational personalities, barriers to enrollment, and enabling factors of the reentry women majors were different from those women nursing majors of traditional college age.

Answers to the following research questions were sought:

1. Do reentry women nursing majors differ from traditional age women nursing majors in terms of motivational factors?
2. Do reentry women nursing majors differ from traditional age women nursing majors in terms of vocational personalities?
3. Do reentry women nursing majors differ from traditional age women nursing majors in terms of barriers to enrollment into a baccalaureate nursing program?
4. Do reentry women nursing majors differ from traditional age women nursing majors in terms of supports that enabled them to enroll in a baccalaureate nursing program?

Importance to the practice of adult education

With the decline in nursing major enrollment, successful student recruitment is a priority for many nursing schools today; but nursing as a profession has little experience in marketing or recruitment practices. Since all prospective students are not alike, it was important to identify their demographic, cultural, and social characteristics. A better understanding of the dynamics involved in the decision to attend college, the choice of nursing as a career, and barriers that were overcome provide data necessary for strategic market planning and lead to improved instruction and counseling of women students. Educational advising can be planned to best meet the needs of these women for academic, personal, and career development.

The study contributed to a better understanding of the motivations for women to enter college as nursing majors, their vocational personalities, barriers to enrollment, and factors that enable them to overcome the obstacles and enroll in a baccalaureate nursing program.

Methodology

A stratified random sample of 10 traditional age and 10 reentry women nursing majors were asked to respond to interviews regarding barriers and enabling factors. Responses to the interviews were used to construct the items on the instruments: Barriers to Enrollment and Enabling Factors. The qualitative data were also used to strengthen the study by triangulation with quantitative data.

To provide data to answer the research questions posed in the study all female nursing majors, who were not RN's, at one midwestern university, were asked to complete the following questionnaires: (a) a Personal Data Form, (b) Education Participation Scale (Boshier, 1982), (c) Vocational Preference Inventory (Holland, 1985), (d) Barriers to Enrollment, and (e) Enabling Factors. The questionnaires were voluntarily completed.

The four research quesions were tested using multivariate and univariate tests of significance. Decisions with regard to the statistical significance were made at the .05 level of confidence.

Description of the Sample

Of the 184 undergraduate nursing majors at one university, 125 voluntarily participated in the study. A total of 46 met the definition of the reentry woman nursing major. These women ranged in age from 22 years to 53 years. A total of 73 women nursing majors met the definition of traditional age nursing major.

Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework for this study was adapted from K. Patricia Cross' (1981) Chain-of-Response Model. This model was designed to identify relevant variables in participation in adult learning and hypothesize their interelationships. The model is depicted in Figure 1.

Cross's model depicted the forces for participation in adult learning activities beginning with the individual and moving increasingly to external conditions. Self-evaluation (A) begins the process. The individual with confidence in his/her own abilities was more apt to be motivated to seek further education. Attitudes about education (B) arise from the individual's past experience in educational settings and indirectly from the attitudes of friends and "significant others." The linkage of (A) and (B) created in some people a challenge to experience new learnings. The adult who enjoyed school and did well was likely to develop a positive self-evaluation, which in turn contributed to doing well in school.

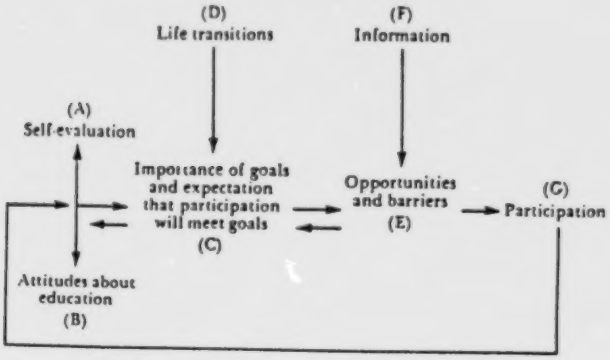
Point C, the importance of goals and expectation that goals will be met, was from the body of research on expectancy valence theory of motivation. If a goal that was important to a person was likely to be achieved through further education, then the motivation at point C was strong.

Life transitions (D) as positive forces for learning has received much recent attention in the literature. Adjusting to new phases of the life cycle was noted to be a motivation to participation in learning activities.

Barriers and special opportunities for adult learning (E) are thought to play an important role in the Chain-of-Response. Accurate information links motivated learners to opportunities as indicated by Point F in the model. In the absence of information, barriers loom large and opportunities are not discovered.

According to Cross's model once the individual got involved in formal education (Participation G) he/she was more likely to do so again in the future. This was shown by the arrow from G to AB.

Figure 1 Chain-of-Response (COR) Model for Understanding Participation in Adult Learning Activities



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Findings

The findings were based upon an analysis of the data obtained from the 119 completed instruments and the 20 interviews.

Demographic Data

Of the reentry women, 74% were full time students and 61% were working for pay. Of the traditional age women 96% were full time students and 71% were also working. The reentry women who worked for pay tended to work more hours per week than did their traditional age classmates.

A total of 20 of the 46 reentry women had been out of formal education from one to five years. The remaining 26 had been out of the classroom for more than five years. All 73 of the traditional age students had been in formal educaion consistently since high school. The reentry students had a greater variation in the kinds and amounts of formal education before beginning at the university than the traditional age students.

Of the 46 reentry women, 59% were married at the time of the study; whereas, 90% of the 73 traditional age women nursing majors in the study were never married. Of the 46 reentry women, 27 had children living with them. Only one traditional age woman had a child at home.

Question 1. Do reentry women nursing majors differ from traditional age women nursing majors in terms of motivational factors? The reentry women were less motivated by social contact (to make new friends) and more motivated by social stimulation (relief from boredom) than their traditional age classmates.

Question 2. Do reentry women nursing majors differ from traditional age women nursing majors in terms of vocational personalities? There was a significant difference between the reentry women and the traditional age women on the Vocational Preference Inventory (Holland, 1985). Differences were found on the Self-Control Scale (reentry women higher in self-control) and on the Acquiescence Scale (traditional age women higher in acquiescence). No difference was found between the two groups on the first six scales. Both groups scored highest on the Social Scale.

Question 3. Do reentry women nursing majors differ from traditional age women nursing majors in terms of barriers to enrollment into a baccalaureate nursing program? There was a significant difference between the reentry women and the traditional age women on 15 of the 35 barriers to enrollment. The cost of college was a barrier of greater importance to the reentry women than to the traditional age women. The belief that there would not be enough time to attend college, study, be with family and/or friends, and deal with other responsibilities was a barrier to the reentry women. Arranging for child care and not having a place to study were also barriers of greater importance to the reentry women than to the traditional age students. Attitudes toward education by family of origin and parents, friends, husband, and/or employer were important barriers to the reentry women.

Dispositional barriers including a fear of failure, lack of self-confidence, and fear of not being smart enough to succeed in college were barriers to the reentry women. The institutional barrier of the religious emphasis of the university was a barrier of greater significance to them than to the traditional age students.

Traditional age students identified two barriers that were of significantly greater importance to them than to their reentry classmates. Leaving home and friends to go to college was a significant barrier to the traditional age students as was the fact that they were tired of being in school.

Question 4. Do reentry women nursing majors differ from traditional age women nursing majors in terms of supports that enabled them to enroll in a baccalaureate nursing program? On 15 of the 20 enabling factors the two groups differed significantly.

The reentry women were enabled to enroll in college by emotional support and encouragement from their husbands and the encouragement from college personnel. The traditional college age students were enabled by the support and encouragement from friends, peers, parents, and/or boss. Making adequate child care arrangements and having the child old enough enabled the reentry women to enroll in college. The reentry women also found that the responsibilities at home changed and they figured out how they could do everything and be in college too. Having more free time and a change in priorities also enabled the reentry women to enroll. The reentry women placed greater importance on finding that classes were offered when they could attend.

The reentry women were enabled to enroll in college by making up their mind to begin, deciding that nursing was what they really wanted for a career, and deciding that they could get a degree in nursing if they really tried. The reentry women talked to themselves and told themselves that they could succeed at college. Getting motivated to begin was also identified by the reentry women as an enabling factor.

Conceptual Framework The Chain-of-Response Model clearly provided a structure helpful in identification of relevant variables that the reentry women expressed. The potential reentry women with a career goal were motivated to overcome obstacles and enroll in a baccalaureate nursing program. The lack of a career goal became a barrier to potential reentry women.

Implications

Since reentry women nursing majors do differ in some ways from traditional college age women nursing majors in terms of motivational factors; marketing, recruitment strategies, and financial aid can be adapted to meet the needs of both groups of potential learners. Making new friends (social contact) could be emphasized in recruitment of traditional college age women and relief from boredom (social stimulation) could be emphasized in recruitment of reentry women.

There was no difference between the two groups of women nursing majors in terms of vocational personalities. Both groups rated "social" occupations highest. Marketing and recruitment strategies could focus on the interpersonal relationship and social interests of future nurses.

Marketing strategies and program goals could be directed toward assisting the potential reentry women to overcome barriers so that enrollment becomes a reality for them. Counseling services could be utilized to help potential reentry women overcome dispositional barriers.

Since all ten of the interviewed reentry women were working in a health care setting or had worked in that setting, recruitment strategies could be directed toward those women currently working in health care settings as nurses's aides and Qualified Medicine Aides (QMA's).

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EXPLORING ADULT LEARNING IN THE ARTS: A PRELIMINARY MAP OF THE TERRITORY

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Abstract: This paper highlights the findings of field research of adults who seriously study modern dance. The nature of the teaching-learning transaction in this art form and the impact that learning has on the lives of the learners were explored. The findings provide one way of viewing this relatively unknown area of learning.

Introduction

"I'm very successful in the business world and I've never given myself the time to develop anything artistic....I have really come to a time in my life where I'm developing that other side of the brain, and I'm blossoming." (Helen, 30, amateur modern dancer)

"There was a part of myself that I wasn't allowing out and I needed to....So I had no more excuses left. I had to find it again. It was the creative part of me that I needed to do." (Evelyn, 30, amateur modern dancer)

Most of us see people in our work settings, in our neighborhoods, in our families, who involve themselves in some way in the arts. They do this as an avocation, as amateurs, but with long term involvement and with a serious commitment and intent. They are involved in community theatre, local musical groups, and church choirs. They write poetry or short stories in their spare time or take painting or pottery classes. For some it is recreational only and the results of the involvement would not rival the Thanksgiving projects of a third grader. But some of these people provide their communities with good local art work--visual and performing.

In rare instances, one may achieve a national or international level of recognition for this work. For example, in 1985, Helen Houvan Santmeyer, a woman in her eighties, published her first and only novel, And Ladies of the Club. She had been a housewife all of her life and had worked on her novel at odd moments for over fifty years. In Washington, D.C. there is a company called "Dancers of the Third Age" which performs at major dance showcases like Jacob's Pillow Dance Festival and New Wave Dance Series at the Brooklyn Academy of Music (Lerman, 1984). It is made up of older men and women who had been, before their retirement, active in many walks of life. They did not see themselves as artists before they joined the company.

Purpose of the Study

Empirical evidence is limited in the area of adult learning in the arts. Consequently, educators do not know the impact such learning has on adults. The purpose of this study was to explore the teaching and learning processes by which adult amateur artists learn to participate and achieve active involvement in an art form. The specific concern of the study is an art form which normally requires

training from an early age and a certain physical capacity at any age: modern dance.

The research questions addressed were: What is the nature of the teaching-learning transaction for adults who seriously study modern dance? What impact does the study of modern dance have on the lives of the learners?

They are based upon the following assumptions: that the teaching-learning transaction for any subject takes place outside as well as inside the classroom; that to understand the impact of the learning on a person's whole life, a broad, contextually-based research mindset must be in operation; and that learning modern dance may be teacher-directed, peer-directed and self-directed. A field-based methodology using a grounded theory approach to data collection and analysis, and influenced by an ethnographic view of learning, was chosen to seek answers to the research questions.

Data Collection and Analysis

There was no real guide in previous research, so this study was exploratory. Mezirow's (1978) concept of perspective transformation, which suggests a broad view of the learning process, involves the span of the learner's life, and considers learning which includes values, feelings and philosophical, expressive and aesthetic themes, provided a starting point for this study.

Data were collected and analyzed over three years by participant-observation in modern dance classes at three different locations, extensive informal conversations with dancers before and after class, and in-depth interviews of seventeen adult amateur dancers. The dancers ranged in age from 20 to 80; none were in artistic occupations; all but one of the seventeen interviewed were female. Serious study was defined as participation in the activity for an average of eight hours a month for a minimum of four months, continued striving for increased ability and knowledge, and working toward the completion of specific goals.

A conceptual framework, derived from Leichter's (1978) dimensions of learning, was created to provide guidance for data collection. A separate analysis framework, which emerged from the data, guided the analysis to its final form.

Findings and Conceptual Insights

The findings were organized into four domains, each a determinant in defining learning in modern dance: the socio-cultural context, the phenomenon of learning modern dance, the teaching-learning interaction, and the outcomes and impacts of the learning. Broad, synthesizing relationships which cut across and derived from the domains suggested themselves. These were called Conceptual Insights.

The first domain, the socio-cultural context, refers to those dimensions of modern dance culture which define expected behaviors and roles in the dance setting. There is a dance culture which, for most of the people observed and interviewed in this study, begins at the door of the dance studio. One dancer (writer/editor, 24) explains: "There's something about coming into a studio where there's this nice open space and you are not surrounded by your everday things....It

makes you feel like you are doing something." The place for dancing, with its layout, equipment and posted materials, defines the kind of behavior expected and signals a change in role for those entering the place. The dressing room, in particular, and changing into the dance costume, are aspects of the setting which help define the behavior and role of the person who enters as "dance student."

The structure and the action of the dance class, derived from the ballet training tradition, are cultural elements which further influence the course the learning will take. Values of the dance tradiition, such as self-discipline, total concentration in the dance class, pushing oneself to the edge of ability, and having a thin, young body contribute to defining the learning process in dance, as does peer group support and interaction (mostly non-verbal). Dance culture and tradition can be viewed as the "organizing circumstance" (Spear and Mocker, 1984) for the teaching-learning transaction in dance.

The phenomenon of learning dance, the second domain, refers to the distinctive aspects of learning modern dance which are directed by the art form and which are not commonly found in other types of adult learning. The art form defines not only the content of the learning, but the process of the learning, as well as, perhaps, the type of person who chooses to learn it.

"Actions, they say, speak louder than words, louder and truer. When people dance, they dance naked in their spirits" (Clive Barnes). Learning modern dance is physical, intellectual and emotional at the same time. This mind-body relationship is fundamental in dance. Dancers report that the intellectual and artistic aspects of the movement are digested, understood and appreciated simultaneously by the mind and the body. The body experiences what the mind perceives. The combination of the mind and body working together in dance intensifies the experience. Creatively, it is a way to express through movement the thoughts and feelings inside a person.

Learning dance requires considerable commitments of time and energy as well as attention and concentration from those who choose it. They say, however, that this investment is not a burden, but rather, it is an enjoyment. It is something for themselves. All but one have done it for a long time and all intend to continue indefinitely.

The third domain, the teaching-learning interaction, is intriguing. It defines the relationship between the structured learning required by the art form and the self-directed learning of the adult learners. The classroom setting could be considered an authoritarian one in which the teacher leads and the students follow. All of the recorded observations of the classes document this; and, with the exception of one class, there is almost no opportunity in classes for students to think or create or really to respond in any way except by imitation of the teacher. Despite the observations, the learners report having a high degree of control over their learning and seem to be learning a great deal more than rote memorization and physical mastery of technique. Interviews with dancers reveal their autonomy, a personal self-teaching style, and critical judgements of and high expectations for themselves and their teachers.

In fact, there is a delicate balance between submitting to the teacher's guidance and maintaining control over their own learning which defines the nature of the teaching-learning interaction for adults who study modern dance. This balance emerges from two generally opposing forces: the authoritarian design of the traditional dance class and the natural self-directed tendencies of adult learners.

When the balance works, it is because the learner has decided that the teacher is competent and therefore worthy of trust. Only then is the adult dance student willing to relinquish control to the teacher. What the learners say about their teachers is that the good ones are very good dancers themselves who know the field and how to teach it. They have high expectations for their students; they treat their students in such a way as to make them feel special; and they encourage learning both in and out of the classroom.

In this interaction, the learners make some important discoveries about themselves and their learning. They notice that they are different learners now than when they were younger because of their maturity in general. They place value on different aspects of the learning at this stage of their lives (like interpretation rather than perfect technique), and they can control the learning so that the focus is where they want it.

The process of the learning in this study follows a similar pattern for all of the learners, including overcoming barriers of some kind, and engaging. Engaging means having a commitment to attend classes, submitting to the teacher's direction in class, thinking, teaching oneself, pushing through difficult movement, and evaluating the learning. Like self-teaching, dancers report applying a self-designed internal evaluation measure to their own learning. All of the dancers are involved in some form of dance-related activities outside of class, but not all are involved in serious study of dance out of class.

The teaching-learning interaction results from the combination of teaching and learning behaviors described. Students feel insecure about their ability to dance. Thus, they seek teachers who know the field and how to teach it, and who expect a great deal from their students. The learner's desire to learn the magic of dance is matched by the teacher's ability to use metaphor to teach it. After trust for the teacher has developed, the learner will allow the teacher to push him or her blindly through difficult learning. The importance of evaluation is matched by frequent, specific, and positive feedback from the teacher.

The outcomes of this learning, the fourth domain, take many different forms. The more obvious ones yield an increased ability to control one's movement. Emotional changes such as feelings of exhiliaration and release, as well as a sense of being centered and calm, are also reported.

Intellectual and aesthetic changes include understanding movement, energy flow and space. More important, however, is the new awareness many of the dancers report having--an ability to "see" in a new way. This was also reported by Halsted (1981) in her study of adult students in painting classes.

Conceptual insights were themes inferred from the findings. They were gleaned from the data throughout the analysis. These themes were persistence, ability to make connections and form patterns in the learning, a desire to affirm one's self and one's existence, and a search for meaning.

For the people in this study, learning dance is part of their personal identity, and this contributes to their persistence in the lifelong study of dance. They are successful partially because they are sophisticated in their ability to make connections in their learning. There is a level of abstract thinking in this learning which is based upon an imagery that these learners understand and respond to. They understand and respond to metaphor and work well in the abstract.

> As surely as when they make love, when they expose themselves to an art human beings are seeking an intensification of their normal experience....Nietzche, for example, stressed one result of such intensification: It invigorates, and thereby leads us to affirm existence, however irrationally. (Bentley, 1969)

The involvement of these learners in an art form can be seen as a means of affirming their existence, not only because of the ability to express their unique qualities through the art, but also because of the way in which they can control the learning. As a result, all aspects of the process are affirming.

Perhaps a form of affirmation is embodied in the act of dance and learning dance. It is an action often correlated through metaphor with the action of living in an assertive manner, confronting life's problems.

Closely related to affirming one's own existence is the broader issue of life's meaning. The kind of learning process undertaken in learning an art form such as modern dance, as well as the process utilized in creating the art work, are processes which can help individuals in a search of that nature.

Discussion and Implications

This study is about amateur adults who study modern dance. It explores the teaching-learning transaction in dance and the outcomes and impacts of the learning. It probably has not answered all of the questions that come to mind about the nature of the learning in modern dance, but it should have provided one view of the terrain of adult learning in modern dance. The structure of the findings is generic and might serve as a model for research on learning in other art forms. Such research might look at the subculture of the particular art--its setting, behavioral expectations and values; attempt to identify aspects of the learning experience which are defined by the art form itself; explore the teaching-learning interaction for that art form; and identify the impacts and outcomes of learning in that art.

The findings stress two aspects of adult education, however, which warrant more and closer attention. One is the nature and process of learning in the arts and the other is the need to know more about the learning side of the teaching-learning interaction.

Arts educators have long called for research in the arts. Madeja (1977) suggests research to determine "What is the nature of the aesthetic experience and what does it add to the individual's life" (p. 10)? Landau (1985) addresses the learning in the arts specifically. In his article "The Necessity of Art in Education," he refers to arts education primarily for children. His thesis is relevant to adult learning in the arts, as well. Landau suggests the need for the development of an art sense to help citizens to maintain a balance with our technological compulsions and obsessions. In order to argue for this type of education politically, it is essential to know specifically what is meant by it and to be able to document its benefits.

There is a great deal of learning activity in the arts, but very little formal investigation has been conducted to find out the extent, variety, intensity and value of this kind of learning. If the findings of this exploratory study are even fairly accurate in the depiction of the value of modern dance to those who engage in it, then this area of learning warrants continued exploration and development.

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PUBLIC LIBRARIANS AS FACILITATORS OF SELF-DIRECTED LEARNING: PERCEPTIONS OF INTERACTION AND ASSISTANCE

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Abstract: This paper presents selected findings of a qualitative study of twenty-two public librarians regarding their perceptions of library users as self-directed learners. Data were gathered using a semi-structured interview and analyzed according to the constant comparative method. A model depicting the interaction of public librarians and library users/learners as well as five maxims for service are provided.

INTRODUCTION

During the past thirty years, the phenomenon of self-directed learning has been widely studied in the adult education literature. Beginning in the mid 1960s, Johnstone and Rivera (1965) established that as many as nine million U.S. adults conducted one or more self-instruction projects annually. Tough's (1967, 1968 & 1979) extended this work to new vistas by focusing attention on adults learning projects and the discovery of even more self-planned efforts. This was followed by a plethora of studies with various socioeconomic and professional groups of adults affirming Tough's original findings (Allerton, 1974; Coolican, 1973; Peters & Gordon, 1974 and many others).

In more recent years, interest has turned to a better understanding of self-directed learning in such institutional contexts as business and industry (Guglielmino & Guglielmino, 1988) and higher education (Kasworm, 1988), the assessment and validation of self-directed learning potential (Guglielmino, 1977; Long & Agyekum, 1988; Oddi, 1986), how self-directed learning can be nurtured and enhanced through individualizing instruction (Hiemstra, 1988; Hiemstra & Sisco, 1990) and the circumstances leading to self-directed learning(Spear, 1988; Spear & Mocker, 1984). A theory of self-directed learning has even been suggested by Mezirow (1985).

One research area that has largely been overlooked is the assistance provided to self-directed learners provided by learning facilitators. It may be that this area has not been investigated because many self-directed learners either don't interact with facilitators at all, or if they do, they use an informal source such as a friend, colleague or relative. One of the formal facilitators that a self-directed learner may encounter is the public librarian, who, over the course of one's professional life, may interact with and serve as a facilitator for many self-directed learners. In so doing, the public librarian is continuing the long tradition of assistance to adults who use the public library as a resource for their individual learning projects.

The purpose of this paper is to present the findings of a qualitative study of twenty-two public librarians working in a city-county library system in the northeastern United States. This paper builds on and expands an earlier Adult Education Research Conference (AERC) paper (Smith, 1986), which was based on the preliminary analysis of the data of the study.

To date, there has been very little research on the interaction between librarians and self-directed learners in the public library. Carr (1979) studied the specially trained librarians who worked in the College Board's Adult Independent Learning Project in the 1970s, but there has been almost no consideration of the ways in which public librarians perceive their everyday interactions with library users as self-directed learners. This gap in the knowledge base served as the problem for the study.

METHODOLOGY

The setting for the study was a city/county library system in the northeastern United States. The county has a population of about 460,000 of whom about 170,000 live in the county seat. The rest of the residents of the county are divided between suburban and rural areas. For purposes of anonymity, the county will be called Cloud County and the city Cloud City.

The population of the study were the fifty-nine public librarians who worked in public service, nonspecialist positions in the branches, central library and member libraries of the Cloud County Public Library. Public service positions were defined as those in which primary responsibilities include assisting adult library users with the location and use of library resources.

The sample size for the study was twenty-two librarians, fifteen of whom worked in the city central library or its branches, and seven who were from member libraries located outside the Cloud City limits. Twenty-one librarians were female and one male. They ranged in age from twenty-nine to fifty-nine.

This study was conducted using the qualitative methodology of the semi-structured interview. With this format, the researcher can identify particular avenues of inquiry, as well as have the flexibility to pursue new avenues and themes that emerge from the words of those being interviewed.

The interviews were tape recorded and transcribed, the transcripts were analyzed using a modification of the constant comparative method (Bogdan & Biklen, 1982) and recurring themes were identified and categorized. The dominant themes that emerged from the data form the basis of the study and its recommendations and implications.

FINDINGS

How Librarians Perceive Self-Directed Learners

Most of the librarians interviewed for this study were reluctant to categorize the library users as self-directed learners that they encountered in the course of their work. Despite their reluctance, a classification scheme did emerge from the librarians' words which indicated at least two perceived categories of learners. One of these categories might be called the "Confident Learners."

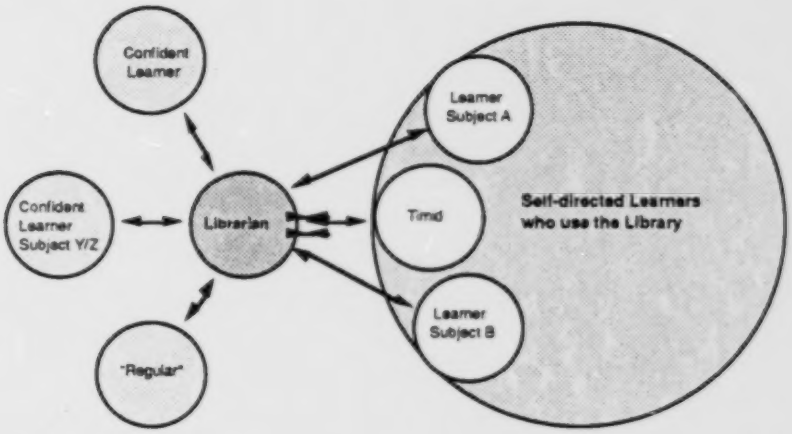
These Confident Learners might be seen to exemplify some of Guglielmino's (1977) self-directed learning readiness factors such as creativity, initiative, effectiveness, and many of the characteristics (e.g. self-confidence, independence) that emerged from the biographies and autobiographies of self-taught individuals studied by Gibbons, et. al. (1980). Librarians used "confidence words" to describe this group: "excited," "competent," "skilled," "very capable," "independent," and having a "strong sense of purpose." Most of the Confident Learners described by the librarians stood out in their minds as distinct individuals; often they were library "regulars."

The second category that emerged from the librarians' words might be called the "Timid Learner." The words that the librarians used to describe them indicated a perceived tentativeness or insecurity in these learners: "fearful," "not sure," "reluctant," "floundering," "cautious." Other words that were used to describe Timid Learners were "lost," "embarrassed," "puzzled," "hesitant," "inarticulate," "beaten down," "fragile." Most of the librarians described the Timid Learners more vaguely than the Confident Learners. They used collective language--for example, "some people," "men," "women," "they," "them,"--instead of speaking of Timid Learners as individual cases.

It would be convenient to categorize all library users as self-directed leaners who use the public library as either Timid or Confident. The development of a model or classification scheme of all learners who use the library is not that simple, however. While a tentative classification did emerge from the librarians descriptions of the library

users as self-directed learners that they encountered, not all of the learners they described fit into that scheme. It seems that Confident and Timid Learners may indeed be identifiable types, but they likely are not the only types present. Thus, a model might look like Figure 1.

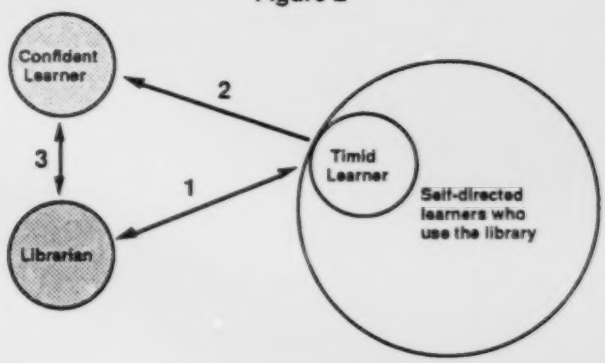
Figure 1



In Figure 1, the large group of self-directed learners on the right represents most of the library users as self-directed learners who use the library as a learning resource. Many of this group represent common information requests that may be repeated many times; these are the learner groups for Subjects A and B. (The lines connecting these groups represent frequent requests.) Also included in this large group are many of the Timid Learners that the librarian encounters. While their information requests may not all be as common as Subjects A and B, they tend to remain an indistinct segment of the group to the librarian, perhaps because these learners *are* timid, and thus their contact with the librarian remains limited.

The small circles located to the left of the librarian represent those learners who stand out as individual cases. These learners may be "regular" library users; they may represent unusual subject requests (Subjects X, Y and Z); and/or they may be Confident Learners who stand out as individual cases *because* of their confidence.

Figure 2



It *is* possible to move from being part of the indistinct group of learners to being a recognizable individual library user as self-directed learner. This process is shown in Figure 2, where the Timid Learner moves from the group to being an individual library user as self-directed learner. The interaction with the librarian may be the key to this transition. While it cannot be said that the librarian causes this change, something about that interaction--the Timid Learner's taking the initiative to ask a question, or the librarian's approach in answering--results in the learner gaining confidence for future interactions.

How Librarians Perceive Their Interactions with Self-directed Learners

While the librarians interviewed for this study did tend to categorize the library users as self-directed learners that they encountered in the course of their work, this categorization did not extend to their interactions with Timid or Confident Learners. What did emerge from the librarians' reflections was a consistent structure that they applied to interactions with self-directed learners and library users of all kinds. This structure constituted a set of what might be called "Maxims for Service." The maxims for service that emerged from the interviews and some observations from the librarians follow:

Maxim Number One: All questions are important. This maxim is probably viewed as almost a "sacred trust" by most public librarians:

> I really think the important thing is not to make them feel that they are putting a burden on you. With adults especially, you have to be careful that you don't let them think in any way that they are asking something inappropriate. Either it's something they should know, or that it's something that, you know "why would anybody want to know that"...That's it more than anything: just being considerate and treating every question like it's important.
>
> And we try absolutely never to give anybody an impression--whatever they ask for--that, "Golly, how can you be so stupid as to ask for that."

Maxim Number Two: Take a pro-active approach to assisting library users. This maxim might be seen as a reaction against the "pointing finger syndrome" that is all too common in retail stores, government agencies and other service-oriented facilities. Almost seventy-five per cent of the librarians spoke about this maxim.

> I think it is such a turn-off to be told, "No, I don't have it," and your underlying assumption is that, "I'm not going to find it for you either, or help you find it." I always try to offer something.
>
> Never should I or anybody I work with just flat out say, "No, we don't have it," and let the person walk out the door and say, "...I'm never going to go back there again!"
>
> You don't sit around waiting for the people to come to you, you go out and approach them.

Maxim Number Three: Help library users learn how to help themselves. This maxim is the other side of the pro-active approach. Over half of the librarians stressed this maxim.

> Now, this is another phase of education; when we've had someone coming

in and looking for something, they used to head for the card catalog. As you know, the card catalog is gone...So we are probably working a lot more closely with patrons, helping them with the microfiche to find what they want, and hopefully going about our job of filling the requests...One of us is around to show how to use the fiche...Before, [when] the card catalog was there, it wasn't very often that people asked us for help with [it].

Maxim Number Four: There is an invisible line of privacy that must be respected. Often the information sought by library users as self-directed learners is sensitive and may be extremely personal. Fifteen of the librarians recognized the need to respect the privacy of those they assist.

> Well, I think particularly I want to be as helpful as I can to provide the best service, and then I have to realize that--I have to know when to stop, and realize that there is a limit with some people that I can go.

> But I do think that we have to somehow get across to people that we're not snooping into their lives, and what they do take out is their own business and we're just here to help them but not to interfere in any way with their privacy.

Maxim Number Five: Try to make the library user feel comfortable in the library. This maxim represents the ways that librarians have attempted to make the library a place where library users as self-directed learners can feel comfortable interacting with librarians and locating information. Sixteen librarians spoke about this maxim.

> But basically, people [the staff] are just pleasant and they want people to feel welcome here. That's what it is.

> We try never to embarrass anybody or make them feel that they wish they hadn't come to the library.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This paper has outlined a model for the interactions between public librarians and library users who may be somewhere in the process of becoming self-directed learners. The model focuses specifically on two categories of self-directed learners--Timid and Confident Learners--that were identified by public librarians who participated in a qualitative study. This paper has also discussed the "maxims" that the librarians used to guide their interactions with self-directed learners and all library users.

The public librarian is in a unique position among potential facilitators of self-directed learning. They interact with library users as self-directed learners, often on a day-to day basis, making the public library one of the few institutional resources that self-directed learners may *choose* to use for their learning pursuits, and thus one of the few places where self-directed learners may *seek out* a facilitator. Thus, the public library and librarians can serve as a focus of further research on the facilitation of self-directed learning. This study could also be used as a basis for considering other facilitators of self-directed learning such as career and educational counselors, trainers, and cooperative extension agents.

The occurrence of self-directed learning seems often to depend on serendipity: the time, place and even the event may have to be just right to spur an individual to embark on a learning project. Spear and Mocker's (1984) concept of the "organizing circumstance" recognizes this situational nature of self-directed learning. In the context of this paper, the public librarian may be an important element in any "circumstance" for self-directed

learning. The *interaction* between a librarian and an individual can become the catalyst that leads that individual to discover self-directed learning. If the librarian perceives these individuals as actual or potential self-directed learners, this perception may be the key to new learning activity occurring in the public library, and, more importantly, it may lead the individual to discover the joys of learning on one's own.

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Rhetoric and Reality: A Study of Resource Allocation Decisions in Adult Education

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Abstract: The development and validation of an instrument designed to determine the relative importance of 37 factors used in resource allocation decisions in adult education is described.

Background

Over the last 30 years, researchers have devoted considerable energy to the study of why adult learners decide whether or not to participate in education programs. Researchers have identified a variety of barriers (Cross, 1981), deterrents (Darkenwald & Valentine, 1985), and motivational orientations (Boshier & Collins, 1985) that partially explain why learners make their decisions. Yet little is known about why providers of adult education decide to offer the programs that they do. Without some understanding of why these decisions are made, it is impossible to offer plausible explanations for why certain groups of adults seem to be better served by providers than other groups and how changes in the provider's environment are related to resource allocation decisions.

In the context of this study, "resource allocation decision" means making a commitment to do the work and pay the costs involved in offering an educational program for an adult or group of adults. "Provider" is an agent (e.g., individual, organization, institution) who allocates resources in order to offer adult education and training programs. Resource allocation decisions made by providers determine the range and variety of programs offered to clients.

Several assumptions have been made in this study. First, it was assumed that all providers have limited resources and that the way these resources are allocated reflects the priorities of the provider. Second, that providers can identify, and would be willing to identify, the factors which are considered when making resource allocation decisions. Third, that the importance of factors would vary from one provider to another. Fourth, that a universe of factors could be derived that would account for almost all resource allocation decisions in adult education. Fifth, that a paper and pencil instrument could be constructed that would yield valid and reliable information on the importance of factors that influence resource allocation decisions.

Priority Setting and Resource Allocation

Priority setting is a term used in adult education to label the process which leads to a ranking or rating of program ideas, needs, demands and so on. This ranking or rating provides a basis for resource allocation. A modest literature base exists on the topic of priority setting in adult education. Some of the literature on program planning addresses the process of determining priorities among needs or objectives (Boyle, 1981; Knowles, 1980; Caffarella, 1988). Other literature reports priority setting procedures that have been tested with various groups and found to have some utility (Kemerer & Schroeder, 1983; Sork, 1979; Forest & Mulcahy, 1976; Misanchuk & Brack, 1988). Deshler and Wood (1988) conducted a study with people involved in Cornell University's Cooperative Extension Service. The purpose of the study was to identify and determine the relative strength of situation analysis factors that respondents considered to be "in use" when making decisions to implement or not to implement new program proposals. They used a combination of interviews, surveys and case studies to identify 22 factors that were claimed to influence implementation decisions and to determine the relative influence of each factor. These factors were divided into three categories--personal, technical and organizational. Each of the factors in the three categories was classified as either "internal" or "external" to the county-level extension unit. They concluded that "internal" factors were thought to have greater influence on implementation decisions than "external" factors.

The purpose of this study was to identify factors (criteria) used by adult education providers when deciding whether or not to offer programs and to determine the relative importance of these factors in resource allocation decisions. To accomplish this purpose, an instrument--the Program Decision-Making Survey--was developed.

Development of the Instrument

The initial task in instrument development was the identification of a universe of factors that might be used to make resource allocation decisions in adult education. This task involved reviewing the literature (largely North American) on priority setting and extracting the criteria that had been proposed. But since these criteria were prescriptive rather than descriptive, the decision was made to supplement the list by asking practitioners the following question: "In your agency or organization, what factors or criteria are used to decide whether or not adult education programs are offered?" Twenty practitioners from the Northwest Territories of Canada and seven from Hong Kong, who were participating in separate professional development workshops, were asked to write on note cards as many factors or criteria as they could think of. Responses from the practitioners were incorporated into the list derived from the literature. From this total list, 37 relatively discrete factors where identified for inclusion in the instrument.

A five-point rating scale was used to indicate the relative importance of each of the 37 factors (see Figure 1). In addition to questions about the 37 factors, four additional questions were included: (1) a question asking respondents to identify additional factors used in their organizations, (2) a question asking respondents to indicate the type of organization in which they worked, (3) a question asking the primary role of respondents (administrator, instructor, consultant, etc.), and (4) a question asking the respondents' level of involvement in making decisions about whether programs are offered. To date, the questionnaire has been administered to a total of 55 adult education practitioners in Hong Kong (n=13); Winnipeg, Manitoba (n=27) and Edmonton, Alberta (n=15). In each case the respondents were attending professional development workshops on the topic of needs assessment. Prior to completing the survey, the Canadian groups were asked to respond to the following question: "In the organization with which you are most familiar, what factors or criteria are used to decide whether or not an adult education or training program will be offered?" This was part of the strategy to determine whether the listing of factors on the survey was complete.

PROGRAM DECISION MAKING SURVEY

Directions: Consider the adult education or training programs offered during the past six months by the organization in which you work. Think about what factors were considered when deciding whether or not these programs would be offered. Look at the factors listed below and indicate how important each one was in deciding to offer these programs.

PLEASE CIRCLE THE ONE BEST RESPONSE NUMBER FOR EACH FACTOR.
IF A FACTOR IS NOT APPLICABLE, CIRCLE NUMBER '1.'

COMPLETE THIS SURVEY ONLY IF YOU NOW WORK IN AN ORGANIZATION THAT OFFERS ADULT EDUCATION OR TRAINING PROGRAMS.

Factors	How Important was each Factor in Deciding to Offer Programs? Not Important	Slightly Important	Somewhat Important	Quite Important	Very Important
1. Request from a superior	1	2	3	4	5
2. Availability of financial support	1	2	3	4	5
3. Potential benefit to participants	1	2	3	4	5
4. Priority of the government	1	2	3	4	5
5. Relevance to current social problem	1	2	3	4	5
6. Contribution to organization's prestige	1	2	3	4	5
7. Relevance to future social problems	1	2	3	4	5
8. Potential demand for the program	1	2	3	4	5
9. Previous success with the program	1	2	3	4	5
10. Contribution to community development	1	2	3	4	5
11. Availability of materials	1	2	3	4	5
12. Urgency of the need	1	2	3	4	5
13. Labour market demand	1	2	3	4	5
14. Acceptability to the public	1	2	3	4	5

Figure 1. Page 1 of the Program Decision Making Survey (PDMS).

Table 1 presents the order of the 37 factors by mean importance rating. Thirty-eight percent of respondents indicated on the survey that criteria in addition to those listed in the survey were used in their organizations to decide whether or not programs are offered.

Table 1

RANK ORDER OF FACTORS BY MEAN IMPORTANCE RATING
(n=55)

Rank	Factor	Mean Importance Rating
1	Potential benefit to participants	4.418
2	Availability of financial support	4.182
3	Contribution to organization's objectives	3.981
4	Consistency with organization's philosophy	3.963
5	Potential demand for the program	3.927
6	Contribution to quality of life	3.852
7.5	Availability of instructor	3.836
7.5	Urgency of the need	3.836
9	Previous success with the program	3.736
10	Contribution to individual performance	3.679
11	Relevance to current trend	3.630
12	Contribution to individual development	3.564
13	Availability of a facility	3.556
14	Contribution to organization's productivity	3.537
15	Popularity of the topic	3.527
16	Availability of materials	3.491
17	Cost/benefit considerations	3.407
18	Builds upon current program	3.327
19	Complementary to other programs	3.309
20	Acceptability within the organization	3.255
21	Relevance to current social problem	3.245
22	Level of interest in the community	3.241
23	Contribution to organization's visibility	3.204
24	Labour market demand	3.093
25	Availability of equipment	3.036
26	Request from a superior	3.018
27	Acceptability to the public	3.000
28	Relevance to future social problems	2.981
29	Contribution to community development	2.926
30	Priority of the government	2.873
31	Increase morale within the organization	2.852
32	Traditional offering of the organization	2.849
33	Contribution to organization's prestige	2.796
34	Prerequisite for other programs	2.673
35	Potential profitability	2.537
36	Competitors offer similar programs	2.436
37	Degree of political support	2.291

Analysis

Preliminary analysis of responses suggests that revising the list of factors will increase the face validity of the instrument and improve its utility in research. Additional analyses have been completed, a summary of which is available from the author. A revised form of the survey has been prepared and will be administered to a broader sample of practitioners from a wider range of provider organizations in an attempt to develop a factor structure for the items in the survey.

There are limitations to the use of this type of survey research for developing a better understanding of resource allocation decisions. This instrument can enrich our understanding of why resources are allocated by different provider organizations, but it will not help us understand how such decisions are made any more than survey research on motivational orientations and barriers or deterrents to participation will help us understand how adults decide whether or not to engage in organized educational programs. The rhetoric of adult education suggests that responsible practitioners should base programs on the identified needs of adult learners. Yet the preliminary data reported above suggest that "need" may indeed serve primarily as a slogan providing easy justification for the resource allocation decisions that we make (Griffith, 1978). But developing a more robust planning theory means questioning the relationships between rhetoric and reality.

Focusing research on the process of allocating resources--that is, making decisions about how the limited resources of a provider organization will be distributed--has the potential to answer some intriguing questions. Examples include: In what way is "need" related to resource allocation decisions? How do cultural differences among providers influence the importance of factors used to make resource allocation decisions? Are there consistent relationships between clusters of similar factors and types of provider organizations? What impact does the importance of factors used to allocate resources have on who is served by the provider organization? Are practitioners who are distant from the locus of resource allocation decisions less able to identify important factors than those who are close to the decisions? How do provider organizations control the resource allocation process? How do changes in government or organizational policy affect the importance of factors used to make resource allocation decisions?

The contribution of this line of research to program planning theory will be discussed at the paper session and the outline of a theoretical framework for conducting research on resource allocation practices in adult education will be presented.

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VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION: DECONSTRUCTING THE MYTH

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ABSTRACT: The notion of voluntary participation in organized adult education activities has been a longstanding and fundamental tenet in the field of adult education. The purpose of this paper is to critically examine that assumption at both the empirical and theoretical levels.

The prominence of the concept of voluntary participation in the field of adult education is the result of several factors. First, the notion has embedded within it implications of freedom and choice, concepts for which the field of adult education has historically professed a concern. Voluntary participation thus represents both the goals and processes to which much of the field of adult education has traditionally aspired.

Second, adult educators from the early 1920s to the present day have highlighted the important place of voluntary participation in the field. For example, Lindeman in 1926, the UNESCO General Conference in 1976 and the International Handbook of lifelong education for adults in 1989 (Titmus, 1989), are just three of the many ways in which the importance of voluntary participation has been noted over the years.

Third, the notion of voluntary participation has been further established by the plethora of research which has been based in the assumption that voluntary participation exists. Boshier, for example, bases his motivational studies in the concept, arguing that since participants choose from among an array of offerings, "thus, it is important for adult educators to know what 'motivates' people to attend and why some persist and others drop out" (Boshier, 1989, p. 147). Such studies subtly both maintain and also create the impression that adults enter into opportunities to participate on a voluntary basis. There is another example of these studies which are based on the assumption that voluntary participation exists. That research explores adult opportunities to participate in organized adult education activities. It classifies adults as "potential learners" (Cross, 1981, p. 99) and bolsters the notion of voluntary participation with the assumption that all adults have a desire to participate and that their willingness to volunteer for participation is related to institutional, situational or dispositional barriers.

A fourth element has helped to establish the notion that adults enter into opportunities to participate on a voluntary basis. That factor has been the juxtapositioning of mandatory continuing education against the notion of voluntary participation in the adult education literature. This approach has defined regulated and enforced participation as distinct from participation into

which adults freely enter. Indeed, the demarcation between these two kinds of participation frequently has been used to define the field and to distinguish it from children's schooling.

Although these four factors have fostered the assumption that adults enter into opportunities to participate on a voluntary basis, the extent to which adults view their opportunities to participate as voluntary remains an issue which has not been explored. As this study illustrates, such research gives new insights into the concept.

RESEARCH DESIGN AND IMPLEMENTATION

The research design of this study was guided by an interpretive approach called phenomenography (Marton, 1981). Although space limitations prevent a full explication of that approach here, it is important to note that phenomenographists seek to uncover conceptions. Conceptions are forms of thought or ways of understanding the world which are characteristics not of individuals but of ways of functioning within an outcome space. An outcome space is an abstract way of representing the boundaries within which conceptions reside, and "in which individuals' move--more or less freely-- back and forth" (Marton, 1984, p. 62). Within that outcome space, one person may hold many and contradictory conceptions about a phenomenon.

Data were collected from 20 respondents who were workers within a department of a large municipality. They were among those who had attained a high school diploma or less. Ten identified themselves as participants, and ten identified themselves as non-participants. In each of these groups there were five men and five women. Respondents defined themselves as participants or non-participants in terms of the same question which guided Statistics Canada's 1985 "One in Every Five" participation survey (Devereaux, 1985).

The data related in this study were collected via hour long semi-structured interviews. Throughout the interviews, questions were phrased so that respondents could answer about their opportunities to participate in adult education activities in terms of barriers which fostered or inhibited their participation.

Data analysis was undertaken in a two step process. Fist, three interviews were fully transcribed to ensure that the interview process flowed smoothly in its early and mid-stages and that the probing techniques were appropriate and effective. Second, each audiotape was played several times. Words, phrases or sentences related to the theme of opportunities to participate were noted. The quotes were then sorted several times into various possible groupings of conceptions. The analysis process which resulted in the conceptions presented here resembled the constant comparative method of Glaser and Straus (1967).

FINDINGS

Workers' Conceptions of Opportunities to Participate in Organized Adult Education Activities

The workers' views of opportunities to participate were categorized into two conceptions. The independent judge reliability test revealed that the levels of agreement between the independent judge and researcher were 100% for Conception 1, and 93% for Conception 11.

Conception 1: Opportunities to Participate are Other-determined

Some workers saw their opportunities to participate in organized adult education activities as other-determined. These workers referred to those with authority who determined which workers would participate. These workers did not see themselves as controlling their decisions to participate. This conception occurred at two levels which were different aspects of this conception.

Level 1: "So I bugged them 'Send a young guy, send me'."

In this instance, workers attempted to convince authorities to grant them opportunities to participate. They expended energy in pleading their cases, in the belief that "the squeaky wheel gets the grease". Participation was a matter of asking and being granted permission to enrol in courses. Fundamentally, at this level these workers viewed participation as a privilege.

Implicit in this view was that some would be "allowed" to participate, while others would not. The criteria that distinguished between these two groups was unclear. Some workers spoke of authorities who granted participation according to status in the organization. Other workers identified limited enrolments or their work content as the criterion on which authorities based their decisions about who would participate and who would not.

Level 2: "They just told us."

From a different perspective, workers similarly saw authorities as determining their participation, but spoke of the process as an imposition, rather than a privilege. These workers were "just told ... on such and such a date, we'll be giving you a training course."

Opportunities to participate were imposed by external agents in different ways. In some instances, workers responded to specified job requirements; in other instances, the nature of the imposition was less clear. Workers participated as an acceptance of their responsibilities in the workplace and suggested that "naturally" one would attend in order to learn how to do one's job more efficiently. The notion that authorities imposed

participation upon the workers was supported by the view that some people needed that extra "little push".

Conception 11: Opportunities to Participate are Self-determined

A second conception which the workers articulated clearly was that it was up to the individual to take advantage of the opportunities for participation in organized adult education activities. These workers viewed adult education as available to all adults and participation as a matter of personal choice. As one worker said: "If you don't take it, it's up to you. Too bad, If you don't want it, it's your choice."

A corollary to this view was that participants had chosen to make the effort to enrol, while non-participants had not. Those who participated were supposedly driven by stronger forces such as greater needs and personal initiative. Consequently, workers blamed themselves for their lack of participation in organized adult education activities. Congruent with this perspective was the view that some would inevitably not participate in adult education activities. Further, there was the view that workers who participated were not responsible for those who did not participate.

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

The findings from this study can be analyzed in two different ways. First, they can be discussed as empirical evidence which gives insights into the notion that adults enter into opportunities to participate on a voluntary basis. Second, they can be examined in terms of theories of social action, to further our understanding of the concept.

In the first instance, when each of the above conceptions is studied individually, interesting insights are gained into workers' views of their opportunities to participate. For example, among those who viewed their opportunities to participate as other-determined, there was an understanding that the control of opportunities for participation lay with others. This finding clearly challenges studies based on the assumption that participation in adult education is an activity of freedom and choice. Indeed, it not only challenges that assumption but makes a distinction between two uniquely different perspectives of other-determined participation--views of imposition and privilege.

Another interesting feature of this conception concerns the extent to which workers viewed themselves as recipients of their opportunities for participation. We do not know if those who saw themselves as primarily recipients extended that notion to include barriers. To the extent that they did not see themselves as initiators, they may have placed control for removing barriers with others. Their non-participation could be related to the view that others not only determined their opportunities to

participate, but were also responsible for removing barriers to their participation. These workers might thus remain non-participants until they were selected to participate and barriers were removed for them. These possibilities are not explored in the current participation literature.

Among those who viewed their opportunities as self-determined, it is clear that workers focused on their personal responsibility to ensure that they acquired their own opportunities. This finding redefines the notion of dispositional barriers. Currently, research into dispositional barriers relates potential learners' attitudes about themselves and the learning situation to participation. While that research focuses on adults' evaluations of themselves relative to their past educational experiences, self-confidence levels, preparation and so on, this study revealed that the workers evaluated themselves relative to the effort they made to participate. They judged their own lack of drive, ambition and so on, to be the barriers which prevented their participation. This finding suggests that the element of self-blame could play a role in inhibiting or fostering participation. An important characteristic of this self-blame was the differentiation that workers made between their level of effort to participate and their level of effort in other circumstances. In contrast research into dispositional barriers tends to explore adults' lack of confidence, negative self-evaluations and personal inadequacies in general terms and relate those characteristics to participation.

Although each of the two conceptions discussed above are qualitatively different, there was an inter-dependent relationship between them. Self-determination of opportunities was intertwined with the understanding that through one's efforts, one could influence the "others" who determined opportunities. The "self" acquired opportunities only to the extent that others created and provided them. Similarly, the conception that opportunities were other-determined was limited by the extent to which individuals accepted others' determination of their participation. The interactions of these two spheres and their relative importance to subsequent participation or non-participation are not currently explored in literature about adults' opportunities to participate.

If these findings are examined in terms of theories of social action, it is possible to understand the nature of voluntary participation from a different perspective. Fundamentally the view of participation presented in our literature parallels that expressed in Conception II, and that view in terms of theories of social action is congruent with a voluntaristic view of human action (see Parsons, 1937). Very basically, a voluntaristic view of social action emphasizes the individual's ability to perceive and pursue goals. It stresses the individual's conscious orientation and purposive action. It focuses on an individual's competency in making choices and decisions which are within, but not entirely determined by, external forces.

This individualistic interpretation of human action is not as popular as it once was. Discussions of sociological theory have shifted to explore ideas such as those put forward by Berger and Luckmann (1967). Those theorists attempted to understand individual's actions as both the products and producers of institutional and societal structures. They focused on the dialectic between agency and structures and thus avoided both the deterministic idea that structures create individuals and the voluntaristic view that individuals independently create their worlds. This dialectic is reflected in the findings of this study, for as noted earlier, there was an inter-dependent relationship between the conceptions of self and other determinedness. This finding becomes even richer when combined with findings from another portion of the study which suggest that the "other" to which the workers referred included social and economic structures. In other words, a dialectic relationship between the workers and structures did appear to exist.

CONCLUSIONS

Given the above discussion, it is clear that the notion of voluntary participation which dominates our literature, although well embedded, does not reflect a contemporary view of the concept at either the empirical or theoretical levels. The task of reframing research and practice to incorporate the findings from this study is not an easy one. It offers, however, a tantalizing challenge to those who are concerned about the issue of participation.

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JOHN DEWEY AND ADULT EDUCATION: HIS NEGLECTED IDEAS

by

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ABSTRACT:

The current approach to John Dewey in the field of adult education is to extrapolate from his famous books on the education of children. However, we don't need to extrapolate. Instead, this paper will pay attention to Dewey's early writing on adult education (ignored by the field), his associations with certain adult educators, and ideas Dewey thought were relevant to adult education that are found in his later philosophy.

BACKGROUND

John Dewey (1859-1952) is one of the few great philosophers America has produced. His writings were influential in many areas including art, politics, psychology, religion, sociology, and education. His influence in education was especially vast. Through his laboratory school at the University of Chicago (1896-1904) and through his educational writing, he became the champion and the standard bearer of progressive education. Learning by doing, engaging the interest of the child, teacher as guide not autocrat, emphasis on the growth of the child; anyone who believes in these ideas has felt Dewey's influence.

Philosophers of adult education have examined John Dewey's writings for ideas related to adult education; for it would be of great value to adult education to see where adult education stands in relation to the ideas of such a creative force in the American intellectual tradition.

So far, the results of this encounter with Dewey have been disappointing. We are told that Dewey wrote nothing directly about adult education; and that we must therefore get what we can out of his other books, especially those on the education of children. The results of this questionable method are meager: since Dewey emphasized growth, it is argued that his philosophy is therefore compatible with the spirit of lifelong education (he is sometimes presented as a sort of godfather of adult education); and a few speculations are made about a "Deweyan" approach to adult education techniques and methods based on no solid evidence.

Luckily this detour into Dewey's books about the education of children is not necessary. For Dewey did write about adult education. There were two distinct phases in Dewey's approach to adult education.

PHASE ONE

> "In time, I am confident the community will recognize it as a natural and necessary part of its own duty--quite as much as its now giving instructions to little children--to provide such opportunities for adults as will enable them to discover and carry to some point of fulfillment, the particular capacities that distinguish them."(Dewey, 1902).

In July, 1902, John Dewey spoke to the National Education Association's annual meeting in Minneapolis. Dewey, asked to speak on "The School as a Social Center," presented a philosophy of adult education that deserves attention.

Dewey began his talk by summarizing new social forces out of which a need for adult learning was emerging.

He identified increased efficiency of cheap transportation, newspapers, libraries, public assemblies, books, and magazines-- what we now call the changing nature of knowledge-- and recognized that "learning...may impinge at once, and at any point, upon the conduct of life."

He identified the weakening of traditional institutions of society, applauded "the movement away from dogmatism and fixed authority" that such weakening represented, but worried that people would be cast adrift with no traditions to secure them. He argued that learning institutions could help fill the gap.

He identified the sheer speed of change, and made the unequivocal statement that "where progress is continuous and certain, education must be equally certain and continuous." He proceeded, sounding like any good lifelong education lobbyist of the 1980's, "the youth at 18 may be educated ...for the conditions which will meet him at nineteen; but he can hardly be prepared for those which are to confront him when his is forty-five."

He worried about the increased specialization of knowledge and feared that without some form of adult education "... a large part of our wage earners are to be left to their own barren meagerness...."

Dewey acknowledged that there are various ways that adults learn -- what we now call individual learning projects-- but felt that such learning does "not relieve the community from the responsibility of providing... a continuous education for all classes of whatever age."

Dewey then suggested specific tasks to be performed by schools functioning as social centers. His list anticipates many classifications used since by adult educators.

Specifically Dewey argued that schools as social centers needed to promote recreation and amusement. As he stated, "demand for recreation and for enjoyment, just as enjoyment, is one of the strongest and most fundamental things in human nature."

Next, Dewey called for a social/community improvement role for learning, with centers acting as "a social-clearing house" ..."where ideas and beliefs may be exchanged..." for the purposes "of doing away with the barriers of caste, or class, or race."

Third, in addition to recreation and social improvement, Dewey wanted schools as social centers to bring out the "vast amount of underutilized talent dormant all about us." This would range, he argued from "instruction in the rudiments for those who had little or no early opportunities" to occupational training to "more advanced" activities.

Sounding like a reformer speaking to the political reality of today, Dewey concluded by arguing that the school as a social center was "born out of our entire democratic movement." And that "to extend the range and the fullness of sharing in the intellectual and spiritual resources of the community is the very meaning of the community".

The philosophy of adult education embodied in phase one of Dewey's thought was the first comprehensive argument for--and description of--the adult education movement. It included activities ranging from what we now call adult basic education, to occupational training, community education, education for recreation and enjoyment, and inner development.

Dewey was fully aware of the impact technology, changing social roles, new kinds of work, large institutions, and the loss of traditional patterns of human interaction were having on people, and the urgency they would add to the need for learning and education. At one point he prophetically threatened that there would be an economic burden on the community if it leaves adults "stranded" without education.

Indeed, the vision Dewey presented at the end of the talk is still far from accomplished: the community "owes to each one of its members the fullest opportunity for development."

It is interesting to note that Dewey's talk could have been called, "The School as a Social Settlement." During the talk Dewey drew repeatedly on his experiences at Jane Addams' Hull House settlement in Chicago. Indeed, it is of some interest to historians of education that the suspected influence by Addams on Dewey --argued for energetically by Lawrence Cremin, and in the adult education field by Cyril Houle-- is for the first time decisively proven in the 1902 essay. As Dewey explicitly admits, Hull House is "the working model upon which I am pretty continuously drawing". Indeed, Dewey 's essay, years ahead of any other formulation in the field, was the result of

his analyzing Hull House activities for their broadest educational implications. It was a potent combination.

A second note of historical interest in the essay is Dewey's continual reference to the school as a social center. The "school as a social center," was a motto of a social movement at the time Dewey gave the address. The movement has been dismissed as a conservative response to extensive social change, an ill-conceived attempt to control new social forces. In fact, it was an embryonic adult education movement. The school as a social center movement grew--actually became an issue at the level of presidential politics—and then faded into history as the general adult education movement surpassed it. By 1920 the school building was simply not sufficient to "house" the growing adult education movement. But the modern adult education movement cheats itself out of its early history when it ignores this movement, a movement whose full story still needs to be told.

PHASE TWO

When Dewey described the school as a social center in 1902, he was 43 years old. His thinking would undergo great development in the years ahead. Most of his great works were still decades away. The 1902 essay on adult education, therefore, did not encompass his most mature thought regarding adult education.

During the following decades Dewey became interested in issues that changed his thinking about adult education. He especially developed his philosophy of democracy, inquiry, and experience. Though he did stay interested in schools, he became convinced that the key to growth was to be found in the wider community. As he wrote in 1937, "school education is but one educational agency out of many, and at the best is in some respects a minor educational force." (Dewey, 1937).

We see Dewey's faith in the community in many of his later writings. In 1939, Elsie Clapp published her book, Community Schools In Action. Clapp was a student of Dewey's and his teaching assistant at Columbia for many years. Clapp directed a community school in Arthurdale, West Virginia. Dewey had visited the school in 1936 and expressed his thoughts about what he had seen there, in the forward to Clapp's book, and also in response to a review of Clapp's book. (Dewey, 1940).

Dewey was still excited when communities did outstanding education. He wrote that there was "extraordinary significance for education of the work reported in this book,". (Clapp, 1939). But to begin to understand Dewey's second phase regarding adult education and his enthusiastic comments, note that he wrote "the educational policy of the school is a beautiful concrete exemplification of what I (have) stated in very general terms -- the necessity of beginning with the local face-to-face community ...if any serious attack is to be made upon the problems of the larger society." (Dewey, 1940).

Again, both Cyril Houle and Lawrence Cremin have argued that Dewey's later writing, though ignored, is relevant to community and adult education. We now have Dewey's own confirmation of their assertions. For even more explicitly he wrote, "The social philosophy underlying the book of hers (Clapp's) and permeating the treatment throughout is precisely that of which I have expressed ...in my Public and its Problems and again in the last chapter of my recent Culture and Freedom." (Dewey, 1940).

And what was the philosophy Dewey had been expounding that applied so directly to Clapp's successful effort in community education?

In his writing on democracy Dewey (1927) had been emphasizing face-to-face communities. He wrote, "in its deepest and richest sense a community must always remain a matter of face-to-face intercourse." But even more importantly Dewey had begun to emphasize the experimental, truly democratic nature of these communities, communities that tried new ideas, whose institutions evolved, that pushed democracy to new heights, that would have "to be enacted anew in every generation." (Dewey, 1937).

In Dewey's early philosophy, democracy had two main functions: it dealt with civic duties, and more importantly it referred to the shared living, communicating, and experiencing that we do with others. In his later writing Dewey focused on a third aspect of democracies, their creative abilities to restructure themselves, especially when they functioned as communities. This excited him, and adult education did so too when it exemplified this kind of community.

In his later writing Dewey also deepened his philosophy of personal inquiry and experience. Dewey's philosophy of inquiry is known. It is also often misunderstood as a rational, cool, scientific, weighing of the variables--the scientist in the lab. But even early in his career Dewey emphasized the openness, the excitement, the play of experience and communication as people seek to make sense of their world.

By 1939 Dewey's philosophy of inquiry, like his philosophy of democracy, was encouraging people to see the world differently, to see the "continuity of esthetic experience with the normal process of living."(Dewey, 1934). That is, Dewey was arguing that artistic expression is the standard for all experience. He thought so because, as he wrote, "art selects and organizes those features that make any experience worth having." He wrote that "art throws off the covers that hide the expressiveness of experienced things; it quickens us from the slackness of routine..." and finally it leads to "intense and vivid realizations of the meanings of events". (Dewey 1934).

The parallel between Dewey's philosophy of democracy, and his philosophy of inquiry is that: where society, organized along democratic lines, can lead to fulfillment in renewing communities; individual experience, organized along "artistic" lines, can lead to fulfillment in restructured and enriched meaning.

Dewey's purpose was to highlight and explore the highest achievements of which we are capable in our daily lives, lived in our neighborhoods, with our families. But such communities, and the people in them who could actually accomplish some of what Dewey hopes for, would not, strictly speaking, be "learning communities." Rather, it would be accurate to call them communities that learn.

Elsie Clapp's community school embodied, for Dewey, a true community; that is why he admired it, not because it was good adult education. The true community would include good adult education, but be more. This is undoubtedly the same admiration that drew Dewey to Hull House, and is the most consistent element in Dewey's thought regarding adult education.

CONCLUSION

In 1902 John Dewey described a vision of adult education based on Jane Addams' work at Hull House. The description was remarkable for its scope and is still relevant today. However, even then, in Dewey's first phase, his appreciation for adult education emerged out of his appreciation not for a learning community, but for a community that also learned. This would lead him onto other concerns, away from adult education, toward democratic face-to-face communities, and the creative people in them.

Dewey's highest contribution to our field will yet be his vision of a community that learns and grows, committed to close neighborly encounters, balanced by the deepest artistic striving to construct out of experience the meaning and relevance of our lives.

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The Continuing Professional Education of Industry-based Engineers and Scientists: A New Perspective

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ABSTRACT: As engineers and scientists progress through three career stages, the values attached to reasons for participation in employer-originated and self-originated continuing professional education (CPE) change and develop. In addition, these professionals attach significantly ($p<0.01$) more importance to professional needs than personal needs when the CPE activity is self-originated than when it is employer-originated. Finally, in an industrial setting, "profession-specific" self-images are replaced by "corporate" self-images in areas, such as CPE, that are governed by corporate policy.

LITERATURE BACKGROUND: Studies of CPE in engineering and science have typically focused on utilitarian goals such as CPE for more effective national technological leadership, internationalization of engineering enterprises, monitoring technological changes and combatting obsolescence, and increasing the talent pool (Gibson, 1980; Garry, 1986; National Academy of Engineering, 1988). Within the work environment, Kazis (1988) equated education with productivity, i.e. the more education (accumulated hours in class), not necessarily learning (accumulated knowledge, skills, etc.) that the professional has, the better off the sponsoring organization will be. By defining the education of engineers and scientists as "intellectual capital", the National Academy of Engineering (1988) has effectively shifted the process of education from a personal growth phenomenon to an economically-based utilitarian concept.

Griffith (1985) estimated that about 95% of those involved in CPE have no formal adult education background, a number close to that found by Tait (1990) in a review of the engineering CPE literature. Assuming that this is true in most industrial settings, then non- professional educators have been the driving force behind the CPE of engineers and scientists. It is not surprising, therefore, that most of the "educational studies" in engineering or science were really correlations between demographic variables such as age, salary level, and number of courses taken. On the other hand, studies on psycho-social variables such as reasons for participation or career stage development of engineers and scientists have been rare (Kopelman, 1977; Rymell and Horton, 1982;). Yet, knowledge of the reasons for participation in CPE is an important factor for planning, implementing, and evaluating the success of CPE activities.

Historically, professionals have been responsible for their own self-directed CPE (Knowles, 1982) in terms of identifying needs for and participating in specific activities. Recently, government policy makers and professional association leaders have been quick to identify education as the solution to social, economic, and technological problems. However, employer- or society-imposed CPE runs counter to professional self-directedness. Jarvis (1989) warned that the increase in interest in continuing professional education, as opposed to continuing professional learning, is an effort toward institutionalizing (and consequently controlling) the problem and any subsequent solutions.

Additionally, Schein (1978) developed a model of career stage development that suggested that as professionals mature technically the need for CPE changes. Such changes suggest that a one-size-fits-all program for all engineers and/or scientists may inadequately meet the needs of the individual participants. Instead, career stage and profession-specific programs may be more appropriate. This study was designed to address those differences in reasons for CPE participation between professional groups, between career stages, and between employer- vs self-origination.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS: This study investigated the differences in reasons for participation in employer-originated and self-originated CPE as reported by industry-based engineers and scientists across 3 career stages. Two specific questions were addressed: 1) To what extent did the populations differ in values attached to reasons for CPE participation as sorted by professional group and career stage? and 2) To what extent did the total population differ in the values it attached to reasons for participation in employer-originated CPE and in self-originated CPE?

METHODOLOGY: Research Design - To address the research questions, a cross-sectional study was developed which identified two independent variables: 1) professional group and 2) career stage; and one dependent variable, reasons for participation in CPE. The research data were gathered in two ways: 1) a mail survey questionnaire using a modified 7-point Likert scale Participation Reasons Scale (Groteleuschen, 1981) with 5 categories of reasons for participation in employer- and self-originated CPE; and 2) supplemental follow-up interviews with randomly selected employees representing the population. To augment company-culture data, interviews were also conducted with university deans and department chairpersons in engineering and science to obtain further discipline-specific professional-culture background. Due to uneven distribution of the population and small numbers in the various cells of the matrix, nonparametric statistical techniques, specifically the Kruskal-Wallis One-Way Analysis of Variance and Chi-Square Test, were employed to analyze the data. Additional analysis was performed using the Differences of Means Test.

Population: The population of this research study was the group of practicing engineers and scientists (primarily chemists) employed in the Research, Development and Engineering Division of a medium-sized consumer products company located in the Midwest. The recruiting policy of the company provided a nationally representative cross-section of engineers and scientists. However, it is recognized that company culture (company policy regarding participation/funding of CPE) varies from company to company. While this research study reflected the responses of nationally representative professionals, their responses may have been influenced by the company culture.

The total of 98 technical personnel available within the division was comprised of 48 engineers and 50 scientists. To have a minimum of thirty people in each professional group, the participation rate for each group would have had to have been at least 63%, a rate that was relatively high according to the results of other studies (Denton et al., 1988; Boser, 1987). Due to the

small numbers of available people in each professional group, a census study, rather than a sample study, was employed.

The Hayes Scale Pay Group designation (a nationally recognized scale reflecting years in occupation, education level, performance level, and technical expertise level) was used to identify career stage. Promotion procedures and criteria from one pay group to another are similar so that equivalence of within-groups by career stage could be assumed. The clustering of pay groups into Career Stages I (entry), II (mid-expertise level), and III (high-expertise level) was accomplished after interviews with several divisional managers and administrative personnel. The population distribution, by career stage, was as follows: 16 employees in Career Stage I, 30 employees in Career Stage II, and 52 employees in Career Stage III. Twelve supplemental follow-up interviewees were selected from the total population using a combination of stratified random and quota selection (Goetz and LeCompte, 1984).

Instruments Selection: To examine the reason for participation in CPE, the Participation Reasons Scale (PRS) developed by Grotelueschen et al. (Harnisch, 1981; Grotelueschen, 1985) was selected because it had been developed specifically for use with professionals in CPE activities. The reliability of the PRS Likert-scale instrument had been demonstrated through nine years of testing (Harnisch, 1989; Groteleuschen, 1985) using both a 35- and a 30-question form. To reduce the amount of time necessary for the careful consideration of responses, an abbreviated version of the PRS containing 15 questions was devised based on the three highest weighted statements in each of the five reasons categories. These categories were 1) Professional Improvement/Development (maintaining/improving knowledge, skills), 2) Collegial Learning/ Interaction (interaction for learning and social purposes), 3) Professional Service (competency concerns and transfer of competency to clients), 4) Professional Reflection (reflective concerns for the profession), and 5) Personal Benefit/Job Security (likelihood of financial gain/security and benefits to family, friends) (Harnisch, 1981). The questions were presented twice, in randomized order for employer- and self-originated CPE.

An interview protocol contained questions related to perceived needs origination for CPE and primary driving force of CPE participation. This was developed and pilot-tested by the author.

Data Collection: The data collection occurred during a 10-day period. The study was introduced to the participants via an advanced notification memo written by the vice-president of the division under study. In this memo the participants were assured of the confidentiality of responses and approval to spend the necessary work-related time in completing the questionnaire. The questionnaire packages were distributed by the researcher with the assistance of department secretaries. Each cover letter was personalized and hand-signed, and included an attached quarter. Each professionally printed questionnaire was name-encoded to facilitate the monitoring of returned questionnaires so that follow-up letters and questionnaires could be sent to those who had not responded by the 5-day deadline. Pre-addressed, stamped envelopes were enclosed to facilitate the return of completed surveys to a research assistant.

FINDINGS: When the interviewed engineers and scientists were asked to describe themselves and each other in terms of abilities, job functions, etc., the differences between the professional groups were laser-sharp, i.e. engineers were "problem-solvers" grounded in reality, while scientists were "dreamers" poised on the cutting-edge of knowledge. From the interview data it was found that the engineers' and scientists' needs for participation in CPE activities were driven primarily by new project assignments or new areas of development within the company. In some cases, however, the need to participate in technical CPE was an on-going one, i.e. a need to stay current in the chosen field regardless of work-related duties. These latter cases more closely matched one of Houle's (1984) characteristics of a professional: enhancing professional knowledge, skills, and sensitivities. In contrast, when the survey data were analyzed, the "professional" images of engineers and scientists blurred as a "corporate" image ("those technical types") seemed to take over. Using the Kruskal-Wallis One-Way Analysis of Variance and the Chi-Square Test ($a = 0.05$), engineers and scientists were found to be statistically independent populations only in their level of importance attached to participation in CPE for reasons of Personal Benefit/Job Security. Engineers attached significantly ($p<0.01$) less importance to security and benefit than did scientists. Although the means were different, the rank order of the means of the five reasons categories was the same for the two groups, regardless of whether the activity was employer- or self-originated CPE. That rank order from most to least important was: 1) Professional Improvement/ Development, 2) Professional Service, 3) Personal Benefit/ Job Security, 4) Collegial Learning/ Interaction, and 5) Professional Reflection.

When the total population was sorted by career stage, differences became apparent both qualitatively and quantitatively. The interview data showed the expected career stage differences in the source of origination for CPE need (from "supervisor and self" to "self" only) and the primary driving force for CPE participation (from new project assignments/areas of development to an on-going need). In addition, the survey results showed significant differences in other reasons categories. Regardless of whether the CPE activity was employer- or self-originated, the importance that professionals in the three career stages attached to participation for reasons of Personal Benefit/Job Security and Professional Reflection was significantly different (Kruskal-Wallis: $p< 0.005$, $p<0.05$, respectively; and Chi-Square: $p< 0.001$, $p< 0.025$, respectively). The analysis also revealed statistically significant differences ($p< 0.025$) for Professional Improvement/ Development in employer- originated CPE and Collegial Learning/ Interaction in self-originated CPE. As shown in Table 1, different rank orders were found for each of the three career stages. For Career Stage II and III professionals, the rank order also depended upon whether the educational activities were employer- or self-originated. Professional Improvement/Development consistently ranked as the most important reason and Professional Reflection as the least important reason for CPE participation. The data suggested a developmental sequencing of the remaining 3 reasons categories.

TABLE 1

Rank Order of the Means of PRS Categories Sorted by Career Stage Reasons Category *

Rank Importance	Career Stg I EOCPE	Career Stg I SOCPE	Career Stg II EOCPE	Career Stg II SOCPE	Career Stg III EOCPE	Career Stg III SOCPE
Most	ProfDev	ProfDev	ProfDev	ProfDev	ProfDev	ProfDev
	BnftSecr	BnftSecr	BnftSecr	BnftSecr	ProfServ	ProfServ
	ProfServ	ProfServ	ProfServ	ColgIntr	BnftSecr	ColgIntr
	ColgIntr	ColgIntr	ColgIntr	ProfServ	ColgIntr	BnftSecr
Least	ProfRefl	ProfRefl	ProfRefl	ProfRefl	ProfRefl	ProfRefl

* ProfDev = Professional Improvement/Development; ColgIntr = Collegial Learning/Interaction; ProfRefl = Professional Reflection; ProfServ = Professional Service; BnftSecr = Personal Benefit/Job Security

Personal Benefit/Job Security was an important reason for participation in CPE for Career Stage I and II professionals, yet that reason became less important, and in fact dropped to the second least important reason for Career Stage III professionals engaged in self-originated CPE. Concern for the transfer of competence in relation to others, Professional Service, increased in importance as the technical expertise increased. Collegial Learning/Interaction also increased in importance as career stage increased.

Differences were seen in the importance attached to the reasons as they related to employer- vs self-originated CPE, an important factor for staff developers who often provide programs for "drafted" participants. Differences in Means between employer- and self-originated CPE were calculated for each of the 5 categories. Three comparisons were found to be statistically significant ($a = 0.05$): 1) Professional Improvement/ Development ($p<0.01$), 2) Collegial Learning/ Interaction ($p<0.01$), and 3) Professional Reflection ($p<0.002$).

CONCLUSIONS/IMPLICATIONS: The very high response rate to this study (95.1%), enabled a population (rather than a sample) of technical professionals to be investigated. This afforded a look at the innovators, the pacesetters, middle majority, and even the laggards who often are absent from other studies because of their low participation rate in CPE (Houle, 1984). This study was also one of the first conducted by an adult educator (rather than an engineer or scientist) that compared engineers and scientists in a natural, industrial setting. While the project focused on only one company, it provided a look at the "why" (not just the "how" or "what") of CPE. Four implications of the study are presented that may be of interest to those who are responsible for CPE both in industry and university.

First - The order of importance of reasons for CPE participation changed throughout the three career stages studied. As professionals matured technically, they generally rated professional needs as more important than personal needs. An awareness of the developing professional needs of industry-based engineers and scientists should be included in the planning and implementation of all CPE offered to the professionals.

Second - On the whole, professionals attached significantly more importance to professional needs categories when the educational activity was self-originated than when it was employer-originated. This is an important issue for those employers who want to "control" their professionals' CPE. It is also important to continuing

engineering/science education policy makers who may view mandated CPE (either by legislation or by associations) as necessary for maintaining technical excellence throughout a career.

Third - The consistently high value placed on Professional Development/Improvement in the survey results was matched by interview data on the reported origination of needs - new areas of development within the company, new project assignments, and finally, an on-going need to stay current within the chosen technical or scientific field. Although in the early career stages Personal Benefit/Job Security was ranked as an important reason for CPE participation, that reason never overtook the Professional Improvement/Development need, an important factor for those responsible for providing appropriate motivating CPE activities.

Fourth - In an industrial setting, "profession-specific" self-images may be quite fragile and replaced, for pragmatic reasons, by broader "corporate" self-images in areas interfacing corporate policy, such as CPE. In other words, on a one-to-one basis, individuals may still hold very clear images of who they are as professionals (engineers or scientists), yet taken as a whole those images are submerged beneath the broader corporate image (i.e. "those technical types"). While interviews yielded laser-sharp differences between occupational groups, survey results on a corporate guided function showed little difference between the two professional groups. This difference between the qualitative and quantitative results underscores the need for multiple research methodologies.

FUTURE RESEARCH: The university community may not be adequately preparing practicing professionals for career-long CPE, based on its own model of professional enhancement. Since differences were found between the "professional" (academically-prepared) and "corporate" (utilitarian) self-images of the industry-based engineers/scientists, future studies could examine the extent of the differences between similarly degreed industry-based professionals and university professors on measures of reasons for CPE participation.

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Clarifying Theory Through Operationalizing Constructs: A Look at Sensitivity and Inclusion in Adult Teaching Style

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Abstract

This study addresses the issues and process involved in operationalizing two constructs related to adult teaching style, sensitivity and inclusion. A combination of qualitative and quantitative methodologies were used to develop Thurstone equal-appearing interval scales which, when intersecting, can be used to place teachers into one of four teaching preference quadrants: Expert, Facilitator, Provider, and Enabler.

Statement of the Problem

The definition of culture permits the emergence of subcultures; people who share a "world view" which combines their symbols, values, beliefs and behaviors to reflect their immediate environment and how they react with outside change (Kearney, 1984). Because "every culture stands in a deeply symbolical, almost...mystical, relation to the Extended, the space in which and through which it strives to actualize itself" (Spengler, 1961), this central purpose guides the Pattern of the culture or the customs, institutions, and traits of that group of people who subscribe to the idioms of the culture (Benedict, 1935). In complex societies, certain prevalent behaviors are expected, standards of living are accepted, and levels of appreciation are supposed. Yet, within each of these societies, there are people who are bound by a variant view: these people may be held together through a unique history, through geographic constraints, through personal beliefs and life-styles. To these deviants is given the label of "subculture," which in an historic sense refers to a "lesser" culture than the prevalent. For this paper, we will use the concept that in a subculture "the culture itself is not 'smaller' than the great culture...the group which enacts it is smaller than the great society" (Lasswell, 1952). This view is sensory and subcortical or below the level of consciousness and can be any common factor as "a group formed for whatever reason will have some traditions which it calls its own" (Dundes in Bascom, 1977).

For educators, this definition of subculture can be extended to any group when the collective "world view" of the group is broadened to be understood as a collective group "goal" or conscious (Van Tilburg & Heimlich, 1987). The issue of coherence of the group and thus the strength of the subculture is determined by a rubric of (1) the subconscious belief system (Jung et. al, 1964); (2) values inherent in the beliefs (Knowles, 1973); (3) how the group learns and relates within itself (Bascom, 1977); (4) beliefs about the major culture (Parsons, 1966); and (5) past history of the group with the topic (Heimlich & Van Tilburg, 1987). Additionally, anthropological studies historically assumed cultural homogeneity in social groups and omitted the sociological view of social stratification by cultural idioms (Leach, 1984). It can be said that all persons are members of some subculture or many subcultures and it becomes important then to view members of modern socieities as members of many different, sometimes competing groups (Dundes, 1977). The dominance of the present value, belief and pattern system will dictate the individual's behavior-- thus the more well defined the values, beliefs, and patterns of behavior in a learning environment, the more clear the individual's role will be to the individual.

One of the roles of the educator is to create an effective learning environment. Little work has been done regarding how educators naturally interact with their student as a component of the environment. The field of adult education suggests reflective approaches, but adult educators must enter into dialogue with a group without the benefit or leisure of time. Further, the culture of the group is limited by the definition allowed the group through the restriction of time. Common experience with subcultures and groups may be considered by individuals as invaluable in the betterment of themselves as educators, but the scope of adult education precludes the ability of an educator to have common experience with all members of the learning groups. Rather, the role of the educator is in part to "inspire, induce, guide and teach adults in all phases of personal development and enrichment so that each individual can work out his own way of living, and of finding meaning in life, his own approach to realizing himself as an individual [sic]" (Jensen, Liveright, Hallenbeck, 1964). Therefore, it would benefit an educator to understand individual preferences for teaching style based on sensitivity to subcultural elements and inclusionary practice of the educator in directing learning activities.

The purpose of the study was to explore and describe the nature of the process of teaching in the subculture focusing on the identification of factors related to the teaching process with specific emphasis placed on two constructs: sensitivity and inclusion.

Sensitivity is defined as the quality or condition of being susceptible to the attitudes, feelings, or circumstances of others. For the purposes of this

paper, sensitivity is the degree of awareness of the educator to the unique cultural elements defining the values, beliefs, and history of the group.

On a very abstract level, adults in any class, group, or learning situation can be defined as a subculture. More concretely, any group has the potential for defining itself as a subculture by establishing norms, mores, and patterns of accepted behavior. The degree and rapidity of bonding of the group initially depends upon the number of shared traits and histories of the individuals within the group. A subculture has clustered sets of behavioral norms that can be differentiated from a larger culture. Much of the group's self-definition is transferred from individual to individual through non-formal means. What is transferred is often the belief in the symbols that have value to the group. The symbols are representative, freely created (not necessarily linearly logical), and transmitted by the culture (de Carvalho-Neto, 1965).

Inclusion is the act of including or the state of having or being taken in as a part of a group, class, or a total. One tenant of adult education is that the adult learner benefits from involvement in setting learning outcomes. Inclusion of a group is not universally "better" and not all individuals have skills for group interaction. Thus, inclusion is a continuum of both learner and instructor behavior.

An individual's desire for learning is hierarchial, and based on internal conditions of the learner. The cohesiveness of the group or the level of concreteness of the world view of the group contributes to the potential for involvement of the group in decision-making activities. Learning should be linked to the design of instruction with consideration given to the different types of capabilities being learned.

Most educators have a preference for various teaching methods. Much of the preference is inherent and suggests potential strengths in the area of choice. The choice of method can suggest a degree of involvement of the group determining its involvement in subject matter, teaching/learning methods, media and outcomes. Simply knowing that different methods are suggested does not guarantee that different methods are used equally and with equal skill by an educator. Rather, the unique abilities of the individual instructor will determine the predominant methods of education used.

Methodology

The design of the study was a two-step process incorporating a qualitative investigation and then using the results in a quantitative investigation.

One target population, educators teaching adult members of subcultures, was involved in the instrument development. This population essentially could include any adult educator, but for the purpose of this study was confined to individuals teaching in The Ohio State University. Four purposefully selected individuals representing this population were included in the study, providing data for the qualitative portion. Individuals were selected based on their teaching philosophy to maximize variance, experience related to teaching, and their teaching ability. For the quantitative investigation, a purposeful sub-sample was selected and used as both a panel of experts and as a pilot test population (n=34). This sub-sample consisted of faculty and graduate students involved previously or currently in teaching adults.

An interview schedule was developed for use with four adult educators. Key questions were related to beliefs, attitudes and behavior associated with adult education settings. Examples of questions are: Describe your ideal teacher; In a teaching situation with a new group of students, what do you first think about (and do first)?; What do you ask the students about the group as a whole?; and so on.

Individuals were interviewed in their offices and were tape-recorded. Tapes were transcribed and data were analyzed using the scissor and sort method of qualitative analysis (Miles and Huberman, 1984). From the analyzed data, a series of statements were developed (k=219) which were related to sensitivity and inclusion elements of teaching style and philosophy. These items were submitted to a panel of experts (measurement and content experts) to assess clarity and applicability of each item to the study (content validity). After re-wording some items, a final list of items was produced and duplicated with instructions for a second validity check.

The second sub-sample of the population (n=34) was asked to participate in this validity check by identifying each item as either related to inclusion, sensitivity, or neither. The respondents were also asked to respond to each item in terms of their own agreement of disagreement with the statements as they applied to their own teaching. The scale used for this was a Likert-type four-point scale ranging from Strongly Disagree to Strongly Agree.

Quantitative data analysis included binomial tests (alpha level =.05 a priori) using the placement of each item into either the inclusion or sensitivity categories (and eliminating missing data and "neither" responses from analysis). Also, a principle components factor analysis using orthognal varimax rotation was employed. Items loading on factors were included if the factor loadings were greater than or equal to .5. This process was used to identify underlying constructs (two were proposed).

The results of these analyses provided information on each item that 1) indicated whether the item represented sensitivity or inclusion, and 2) indicated underlying construct(s) contributing to the score on that item.

Description of the Data

The results of the content analysis of the interviews produced ten trends in the data. Of these, four (Need of the Educator; Needs of the Students; Background of Students; Role of the Educator as Model) related to the dimension of Sensitivity. Three of the trends (Motivation to Learn; Role of the Educator in Learning; Directing the Learning Process) were directly tied to the concept of Inclusion of Students. Three major trends (Educator's Perception of the Students as Individuals; Educator's Perception of the Students as a group; and Students' Perceptions of the Educator) did not fall into either dimension.

Through the factor analysis of the 219 statements on a Likert-type scale, six factors emerged. These six factors accounted for 51.8% of the total variance explained. These factors were: 1) Basis for Instructional Method; 2) Educator's Perception of Students; 3) Educator's Perception of Self; 4) Educator's Perception of Student Needs; 5) Group Process; and 6) Classroom Methods. Factors one (17.7% of variance), two (8.8%), three (7.8%) and four (6.7%) were related to the Sensitivity Dimension while factors five (5.6%) and six (5.1%) were related to the Inclusion Dimension. The researchers noticed that the sensitivity factors related to the way an educator feels and that the inclusion factors seem to be related to how an educator puts into practice those feelings.

From the results of the binomial tests and the factor analysis, potential items for two Thurstone equal-appearing interval instruments were developed (one for Sensitivity, one for Inclusion). Each instrument required 11 items, each one representing an interval point on the scale. These items were selected based on a panel of experts' ratings of potential items (n=34). Items were given scale scores based on judges' ratings and total variance. Then items with scores at each interval of an 11 point scale and with the smallest variance were selected for the Thurstones.

An individual's score (a mean between 1 and 11) on each instrument will place that individual on a low/high continuum which, when crossed with the other, creates quadrants of a two-by-two matrix. Quadrant names are low (Inclusion)- low (Sensitivity), Expert; low - high, Provider; high - low, Facilitator; and high - high, Enabler. An interesting phenomenon, discovered during initial testing of the Thurstones (n=104), was the "neutral zone", an area created by individuals scoring 6-7.9 on each scale. A

placement in this location of the matrix, or in the "Preference →" area (a definite style placement score on one dimension, and a 6-7.9 score on the other) indicates an uncertainty in preference or lack of clarity or predictability in performance, but clarity on inculturated socially desirable teaching behavior.

Conclusions

Based on the findings, the following conclusions were made:

1. Through the analysis of the 219 statements gleaned from the interviews, the process used was successful in reducing the number of items. The qualitative potion of the study served two purposes: 1) to identify trends in the process of teaching within any defined subculture; and 2) to provide items to use in the quantitative measure. Therefore, this system appears to be an appropriate means of grounding theory into reality.

2. Factors identified through the factor analysis represent the two dimensions of Sensitivity and Inclusion, though each factor represents a different point on a dimensional continuum.

3. The inculturation, or institutionalization of educators into the philosophies of "adult education" create a bias toward specific behaviors. This bias may actually work against an individual having clarity in teaching performance and lessen the effectiveness of the learning environment.

4. It appears that, when subculture is broadly defined to include adult learning groups with the potential of forming a cultural pattern, the preferred style of an educator can be described by sensitivity of the educator to the group, individuals in the group, and to self and inclusionary practice of the educator with all groups. The dimensions of Sensitivity and Inclusion can be measured to identify this preferred teaching style of an educator.

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THE SEARCH FOR SELF AND COMMUNITY:

FEMALE IMMIGRANTS ON THE PLAINS

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Abstract:

This article refers to a study of women in technological training in a city on the Canadian prairies (the plains). Using life history materials, it explores and analyses some of the processes undergone by the women as they undertake a search for self and community: both as immigrants to a new country and as women new to technological occupations. Such processes should be of interest to those concerned with the social implications of adult education.

I: Introduction:

> I was born during the depression in a little house, wind-blown and isolated on the Alberta prairies.
>
> (Karen, daughter of Irish immigrants)

The intent of this article is to present an analysis of the lives of women training for technological occupations who either are literally immigrants in the sense of having been born elsewhere, or who are metaphorically immigrants from the perspective of entering an unfamililar terrain. Themes arising from the life history material of adult women who migrated to the Canadian prairies or who were the children of such adult parents are presented and explored in this article.

The women whose life material is part of this analysis enrolled in programs of technological study in the city of Crowfoot (a pseudonym) at three different educational institutions at three different periods of time: 1975: 11 women enrolled as dictatypists in a vocational training centre; 1986: 13 women enrolled as technologists at an institute of technology; 1988: eight women enrolled as engineers in a university degree program. In addition, material and insights were drawn from the life histories of a 1982 study of 24 women associated with an immigrant women's centre in Crowfoot as well as from a larger study in progress of women and technological occupations (Warren, 1979; 1986; 1988; 1989). The life histories in the case of

the dictatypists were written histories; in all others the material was collected through open-ended interviews and transcribed. The unifying experience of all the women is that they were living in a prairie city at the time of their technological training.

The methodology is an inductive one derived from a long established phenomenological and qualitative tradition, one well suited to the analysis of the life history materials (Warren,1982; Finger,1988). First person materials are included in an expanded article (available from the author) as part of the analysis because of the methodological stance of the researcher that their inclusion is an integral part of the analysis and allows the analysis to "live and breathe and palpitate with life"; they remind both readers and analysts that adult education as a field of study is about people and, like life itself, should be concerned with the subjective as well as the objective.

The Science Council of Canada (1982) identified science and its affiliate, technology, as targets for education and training. Traditionally, Canadian women, as well as women in most western countries, have not been much attracted to such areas for a variety of complex reasons (Warren,1987). Forecasts that backgrounds in such areas will lead to jobs in the future in the expanding technological sectors of the economy (while traditional clerical areas of employment for women disappear), have resulted in women being encouraged to seek educational and training programs in technological areas: to protect them against unemployment and low paying jobs in their younger years, and poverty in their later years. Whether technological occupations will be the panacea for employment and poverty problems is part of a critical social science debate and one which will not be included here.

While there is some movement of young Canadian women toward technological areas of education and training, it may well be that a greater interest in such areas will be shown by immigrant women or by the daughters of recent immigrants. There are a number of reasons why this is likely to be so. An expanded paper explores these reasons.

II: Life History Analyses: The Theme of Community and Anti-Community

The social theorist Robert Nisbet (1976) defines community as that which constitutes a lasting sense of relationships among individuals. A sense of community is characterized by a high degree of personal intimacy, social cohesion, moral commitment, and continuity in time.

Interactionist theory would predict that immigrants should have a greater longing for a sense of community that those born in Canada because their familiar sense of community will have been disrupted and can only be restored when a new or revised sense of self has been established through interaction (Warren,1986).

Closely related to this idea of community and seen as its negative backdrop is the notion of anti-community. There are numerous ways in which this idea can be expressed and the life histories of the women in this study show symptomatic strains of most of them: fear of the social void; alienation; estrangement from others and estrangement from one's own self; fear of a loss of identify; and fear of the great open spaces of impersonality and rejection (Nisbet:11).

It should be noted, however, that what may be experienced as community to one person or group may be perceived as anti-community to another. Differing social experiences based upon class, gender, ethnic origin, and race, result in varying definitions of the situation which in turn lead to shared definitions of each groups sense of community or anti-community. This is noticeable when one examines the life histories of women with different class experiences; it is also often strikingly noticeable when one compares the life histories of women with men to the extent that their experiences based on gender differ.

Socialist feminists see an analogy between the domination by a ruling class over other classes in a class system, and male domination over females in a patriarchial system. They believe that both kinds of structural domination occur within society, resulting in a sense of alienation. From such a perspective, working-class female immigrants may be doubly at risk with respect to experiencing anti-community feelings. Furthermore, we may see in recent female immigrants of all classes but an exaggeration of the anti-community feelings experienced in general by many women of all class backgrounds but particularly by those in male dominated work occupations.

The sociologist, Leonard Marsh (1970) has noted that for Canadians, nothing is more relevant than the subject of community. This he believes to be so because "we inhabit a vast land, whose rugged character, sheer size, winter climate and many remotenesses can only be described as inhospitable." (Marsh:xi)

If a sense of community is as important for Canadians as Marsh suggests, how much more important it must be for

immigrants! The inhospitable climate is a problem with respect to community only to the extent that it isolates us from each other. For example, Ruby from Grenada, who was living in the suburbs of Crowchild, says, "It's so cold here. We have friends but they live far apart. At home people would pass by my house every day, on foot or bicycle and call out. Here, there is no-one on the street in the winter!"

Ella from Chile points out the real problem with the cold as she says, "I think what I miss most about Chile is relations with people. After I study, I can meet people, but here, the winter is cold and dark and to meet someone I have to drive the car. I don't drive because I am scared as I was with my mother when she had an accident on the icy roads." As many women before her have found, learning to drive a car is an act which will allow Ella to feel confident about her ability to be in the driver's seat of her own life as well as to connect with other people (Warren,1979). But, in the meantime, the climate may be seen as an alienating force.

A number of auxillary themes related to the major theme of community and anti-community are identified and presented in the expanded article: alienation and self-esteem; geographical movement and social dislocations; early educational background as currency; community and language; community and gender; and gender and race discrimination in technological occupations.

III: Conclusion:

Using a socialist feminist model, this study of women in technological training in a city on the prairies describes, explores, and analyses some of the processes undergone by the women as they undertake a search for self and community: both as immigrants to a new country and as women new to technological occupations. Both class and patriarchy are indicated as major structural features promoting anti-community. It also is suggested that a prairie society may be more problematic for those seeking a sense of community because of the dominance of an individualistic work ethic which may mitigate against a social ethic more compatible with a sense of community.

The women's desire for a sense of community is a relational need which has been well documented by such writers as Carol Gilligan, Nancy Chodorow, and Mary Belenky and co-authors (Gilligan, 1982; Chodorow,1978; Belenky et.al, 1986). What has been less well researched is why women should apparently demonstrate such needs more than men. This article provides insights into this question.

The analysis of women in training in technological occupations suggests that the need for a sense of community is more prevalent among those who do not have it or who have a fear of losing what sense they do have than amongst those more tenured.

A Social Science and Humanities Research Grant funded the study of Women and Technological Occupations.

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Toward a Theory of Informal & Incidental Learning

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ABSTRACT

Previous research in adult education has differentiated between informal and formal learning and has emphasized the importance of self-directed learning. Yet, little theory-building has occurred to further our understanding of the differences between learning under formal vs. informal conditions. Learning from experience is widely lauded even though the dynamics of such learning are still unclear. This research resulted in the formulation of a tentative theory of informal and incidental learning.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Drawing on the work of Argyris (Argyris, Putnam and Smith, 1985) and Schon (1983, 1987) on action science and reflective practice and of Mezirow (1981) on perspective transformation, the research reported here integrates these theories into a theory of action perspective on informal learning. Informal learning, which includes incidental learning as a subset, is learning which is predominantly experiential and non-institutional. Incidental learning is unintentional and a by-product of some other activity. Informal learning differs from formal learning in the degree of control exercised by the learner, in the location, and in the predictability of outcomes. Incidental learning differs in that it is tacit, taken-for-granted, and embedded in people's actions.

RESEARCH METHODS

Six separate case study research projects were analyzed to determine the nature of the informal or incidental learning identified in each. Projects included a study of Swedish managers' action learning projects, a comparison of informal learning about community development and change in Nepal and the Phillipines, how professionals learn through their life histories, incidental learning about how professionals in human resource development create unintended outcomes, incidental learning about intervention, and incidental learning about managing change. Each separate study was first presented in case study format with a description of the learning project as well as the nature of the informal or incidental learning within the case context. Analysis across the separate studies produced a tentative theory of informal and incidental learning.

CASE STUDY SUMMARIES

MiL: A Swedish Experiment. Interviews with Swedish managers engaged in an action learning program (MiL), revealed characteristics of informal learning. A flexible framework of three main components makes up the MiL program: actual projects in companies, seminars, and back-home experiences in the individuals' own companies. Program activities are sandwiched between regular work activities with 20 days for the project component, 20 days of seminars, and seven to nine months of back home experiences. The learning that takes place in Mil programs is experience-based, centered on non-routine situations that have been highlighted as problematic, and is both tacit and explicit. The very nature of the projects makes them non-routine and outside of the learner's normal experience. Informal learning under these conditions demands that a person pay attention to the results of actions and use judgment to compare their results to a model of what is expected based on past results. When it is clear that the experience falls outside of their past experience, they can not rely on prescriptions from the past.

MiL is designed learning, yet much is left to chance. No one can predict how managers will respond to the project experience, nor what they will learn from each other in the process. Although little is done to reflect on this incidental learning, every manager is given a blank notebook labeled "management" to record these reflections throughout the project. Informal learning in MiL is further delimited by the artificial boundaries separating the project experience from real life. The projects are defined as learning experiences for which the manager will not be

held accountable in their organizations and they have the luxury of working on these management problems in a team, an option seldom available to them back home. Finally, the MiL program actively encourages critical reflection, creativity, and proactivity. Critical reflection allows problem reformulation. The arts are drawn upon as an alternative world view and managers often discover a creative side as staff members show that "serious" subjects can be approached in a creative manner. The active experimentation and enthusiasm of co-learners stimulates a proactive approach to learning in the program.

Nepal and the Phillipines. Case studies of experience-based training programs for village-level educational field workers were conducted to learn how people, through education, learned to "take over" responsibility for their lives. The heart of the training programs was dialogue, most of which took place in people's homes. Thus, informal learning was a dominant part of the design. Informal social interaction did not always lead to learning, but the programs did move some people to a mix of non-reflective and reflective learning as defined by Jarvis (1987). Another way in which the training designs incorporated informal learning was that learners were involved in making key choices during training. In Nepal, involvement began at the highest possible levels with policy makers and administrators. The training began with a training of future trainers. U.S. consultants conducting this training would often stop and talk about why they were doing what they were doing and the local trainees would then reflect on their collective experiences in order to redesign the training program. In the Phillipines, Srinivasan began by having local field staff pretest the proposed training activities to experience them and to consider ways to adapt them to the local situation. Finally, these training programs also included learning from experience through a combination of action and reflection; developing a collaborative resource network on which workers could draw to solve problems; and using methods and materials to encourage reflectivity, including using training as a forum to discuss the often tacit nature of learning in this program.

Life Experiences of Workplace Educators. Through a life history study of a cohort of students in the Teachers College doctoral program, Marsick examined the patterns of learning of professional workplace educators and how this influenced their subsequent learning and teaching practices. Findings of this study confirmed the learning loop identified by these authors in which informal experience-based learning is depicted as a process of moving from intelligence activity to set a problem, to formulation of a problem, to design activity to design responses, to a design solution followed by choice activity in which a choice is made among possible solutions, to implementation of the chosen solution, to experimental activity to try out the solution, to an assessment of results. The approach professionals take to informal learning may be different from non-professionals in that they are more likely to be motivated by a commitment to their calling and a desire to continually update their knowledge base. They may be more peer than supervisor-oriented, and are autonomous, self-organizing, and self-directed. In each of the life histories, a heightened awareness was accompanied by a sensitivity to feelings that could not at first be put into words. There was a tacitness about these feelings that led people to further exploration and finally to explicit explanation. These adult educators learned from life experiences to be flexible; it was their very flexibility that brought them into an occupation where there are few fixed rules.

Informal learning was also difficult and often went awry leaving people highly frustrated because they could not see why they could not produce the results they envisioned. Effective informal and incidental learning depend on becoming aware of many events occurring simultaneously, seeing the context in which a problem is framed, collaborating with others who might help identify blind spots, seeing things from different viewpoints, and experimenting with ideas that were not in one's original plan.

Incidental Learning and Group Facilitation. This case study examined the practices of a facilitator of a group of six adult children of alcoholics who came together in the belief that their similar childhood experiences had led to similar workplace problems and that their similar childhood background would make them particularly able to help one another. The group engaged in a process of reflection using action science techniques in the expectation that this process would help them transform their current thinking. Incidental learning of the group facilitator was examined by reflecting with her on a chronology of her interventions with the group and identifying her beliefs about effective intervention or group facilitation. Findings from this study

regarding incidental learning confirmed the need for openness to the surprizes characteristic of practice (Schon, 1987). The successful moments in this reflective learning group involved an openness in "uncertain and conflicted moments." Because the insights which evolve "in action" are unpredictable and often unplanned, the learning process requires trial and error experimentation. Examples of this openness included learning from others ("double hits") and "moments of surrender." A delimiter of incidental learning is the unexamined assumptions and frameworks of understanding learners bring to the learning process. In this case, the therapeutic understandings of growing up with an alcoholic parent often interacted with the development of competence in solving present workplace problems. This study further illustrated the moment-by-moment judgment calls made by the group facilitator and the way in which skill in surfacing tacit assumptions and incidental learning about intervention enhanced the individual's ability to make these judgment calls in action.

Incidental Learning of Change Managers. Seven case studies of innovative projects in higher education were conducted. Analysis of the beliefs and attributions of change managers in three of the case studies and of their response to the unintended consequences produced by these highly unusual innovations led to several findings about the nature of incidental learning in change. These projects, because they were so non-routine, placed the greatest learning demands on both users and change facilitators who were forced to engage in trial and error learning and incremental, incidental learning to define and implement the innovations. Locked in their tacit perceptual frames and control orientations (Argyris, et al, 1985), they often produced results in direct contradiction of their intentions. They may have learned incidentally that, to manage a change project, others need to be "seduced, whipped, or fired" to get the job done, or that they should modify the original outcome to get a win (from an Indian-governed experiential learning program to a CAEL-developed credit for prior learning program; from a print-oriented program to a telecommunications program for Eskimo villagers; from a totally competency-based institution to a competency-based assessment program). They appeared to emphasize short term wins which may have reinforced ineffective practices that led to long-term problems. Finally, incidental learning about emotionally hot topics such as prejudice was especially difficult and appeared to undermine the goals of equity and empowerment in two of the three cases. A significant factor in the outcome of these projects was thus the way in which individuals framed the nature of the innovation, their change management role, and one another's motives. This framing was largely tacit. Having framed their role as the person responsible for the project ("I <u>am</u> the project!"), they were unable to reframe their role as the facilitator of the change process to one of mutual inquiry with the intended beneficiaries of the changes (the users), even when the innovation was not clearly specified in the first place. Similarly, the very non-routineness of the innovations created complexity and ambiguity which seemed to trigger not learning but rather efforts to manage or control that complexity, which led to a narrowing of the change goals or the adoption of completely different innovations in two cases because they were more familiar and routine than those originally envisioned.

Human Resource Developers' Incidental Learning. Interviews with 47 human resource developers in three different organizations led to the identification of a number of gaps between their espoused learning beliefs and their practices as learners and trainers. In these interviews, it was clear that what human resource developers do was not as important as the implicit, incidental learning message conveyed by <u>how</u> it is done which often undermined the explicit learning goals. Incidental learning of human resource developers was identified by observing contradictions, determining paradoxes or double binds which might paralyze or sabotage actions, and by inferring possible unintended consequences of actions, particularly by weighing the possible effects on learners. Incidental learning is thus embedded in the beliefs which inform action. In order to transform professional HRD practice, it is necessary to critically reflect on the nature and the validity of those beliefs in the light of their impact on learners.

CONCLUSIONS

Just as others (Scribner, 1986, Resnick, 1987) have noted that there are differences between in and out of school learning, this research highlighted the nonroutine, experiential, and tacit nature of informal learning. These qualities led to the identification of things which delimit informal learning

and things which appear to enhance it. Delimiters include the capacity of the learner to frame the problems to which they will attend in learning and to frame the context broadly enough; and the work capacity of the learner which enables the learner to project learning over a long time period across many separate learning outcomes. Enhancers include creativity, proactivity, and critical reflectivity. Contrasts between the findings of this study and those of Tough (1979), Mocker and Spear (1982) , and Jarvis (1987) revealed the importance of context and the potency of unintended learning. For Mocker and Spear, the organizing definition of degree of formality is the extent to which a learner controls both objectives and means. This matrix is of limited use to us because of the way we define informal and incidental learning. The control of objectives and means is primarily salient for intentional learning activities. Moreover, we are less concerned with who organizes a specific activity or teaching process, and thus controls inputs, than with understanding how people learn using informal approaches. It is true that learners need to exercise choice, but they may not set out intentionally and explicitly to accomplish particular ends through preplanned means as described by Mocker and Spear. Often, their choices evolve from their interactions with others in an activity or task. Sometimes they are fully conscious of the learning implications of their choices; other times they remain unaware. We concur with Mocker and Spear that the learner's environment is a major determinant in organizing learners projects. Our research has in fact emphasized this aspect and led to several descriptions of the role of environment in triggering informal and incidental learning. Mocker and Spear develop a taxonomy of four types of organizing circumstances: single event/anticipated learning, single event/unanticipated learning, series of events/related learning, series of events/unrelated learning. They focus on how the events organize the learning, and on what learners control. Our work is equally interested in environmentally-induced learning where, for example, growing up with an alcoholic parent is an environment which triggers considerable accidental and tacit learning, though this is not an environment the child would intentionally choose or design.

We question the explicit and implicit advocacy of self-directed learning which implies that there may be something better or more adult in learner's learning on their own. Rather, our research suggests that much useful learning is acquired in autonomous learning projects, yet there is an equal potential for misinformation and incorrect attributions to be learned in this way.

We further contrast our findings with those of Tough. Tough's concept of self-directed learning fits ours in that people learn from experience, that the situation is often defined by them as nonroutine, and that people can be proactive in their learning. However, Tough is concerned about planned events to reach a goal and thus excludes other kinds of informal and incidental learning. He gives the example of his own trip to India which he defines as highly intentional since he wanted to learn more about that country. He notes that he would exclude something else he learned on that trip: "The other major impact of my two months abroad was a sharp awareness of the importance to me of my family....I count a change as intentional ... only if the person expects and definitely seeks the approximate sort of change that does occur." (Tough, 1982, p. 21). Tough's definition excludes much of the learning we've examined in these studies. Furthermore, Tough emphasizes the voluntary, purposeful nature of self-directed learning while we note that much of the learning we observed occurred coincident to a direct command or request of others or in performing tasks to meet the needs of the organization. Finally, we include a further dimension to our work: the often collective dimension of learning in organizations. We would differentiate between two different kinds of self-directed learning in organizations--learning directed at one's own development and learning by an individual in pursuit of the collective needs within a group or organization.

To summarize our findings, models depicting potential sources of error in incidental learning and defining informal learning using Simon's (1965) work were developed. Figures 1 and 2 depict these models.

Figure 1: Potential Sources of Error in Incidental Learning

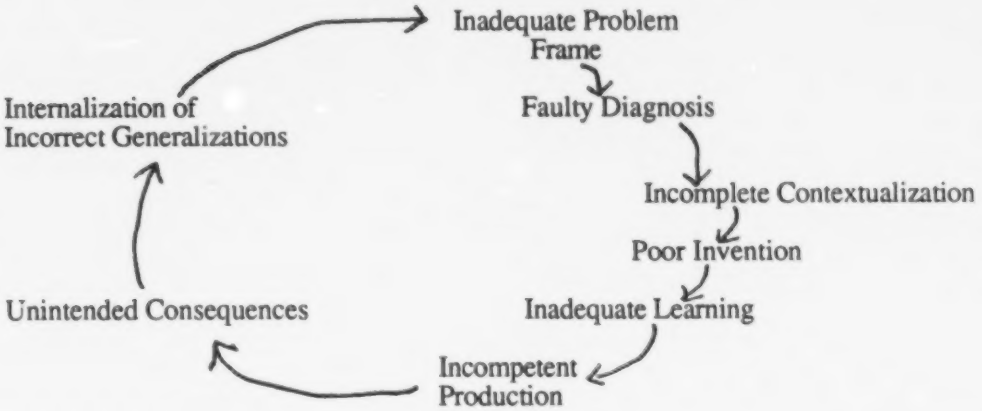
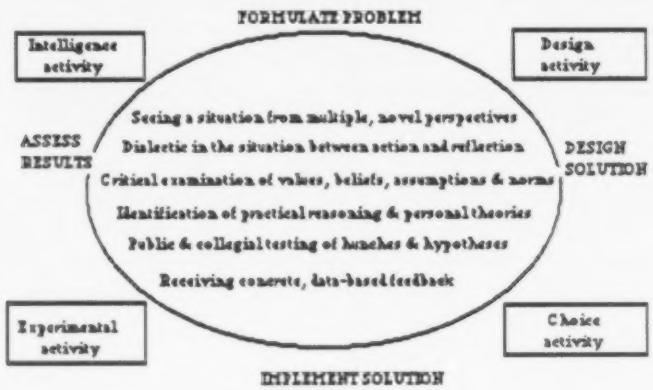


Figure 2: Informal Learning Processes in the Learning Loop


FORMULATE PROBLEM
Intelligence activity
Design activity
ASSESS RESULTS
DESIGN SOLUTION
Seeing a situation from multiple, novel perspectives
Dialectic in the situation between action and reflection
Critical examination of values, beliefs, assumptions & norms
Identification of practical reasoning & personal theories
Public & collegial testing of hunches & hypotheses
Receiving concrete, data-based feedback
Experimental activity
Choice activity
IMPLEMENT SOLUTION

EDUCATIONAL & SCIENTIFIC IMPORTANCE OF THIS RESEARCH

Adult education has been described as a field in search of a theory. Research in the field has been dominated by descriptions of self-directed learning and studies of participation of adult learners. This research adds to the body of research on self-directed learning, but also begins the important work of theory-building around an important dimension of a large portion of adult education activity--its informality.

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QUIS CUSTODIET IPSOS CUSTODES?
Publishing Research in Adult Education: A Symposium

Discussants:

Dr. Ralph G. Brockett, Editor-in-Chief
New Directions for Continuing Education
Publisher: Jossey-Bass Inc.

Dr. Ronald M. Cervero, Editor
Dr. Sharan B. Merriam, Editor
Adult Education Quarterly: A Journal of Research and Theory in Adult Education
Publisher: American Association for Adult & Continuing Education

Dr. Catherine Warren, Editor
The Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education (la Revue canadienne pour l'etude de l'education des adultes)
Publisher: Canadian Association for the Study of Adult Education

Dr. Peter Jarvis, Editor
International Journal of Lifelong Education
Publisher: Taylor and Francis Ltd.

Moderator:

Dr. Bill Griffith, President-Elect
American Association for Adult & Continuing Education

Research publications serve the following purposes:

(1) Facilitate the dissemination of scholarly reports among the scholars in a field of study or discipline;

(2) Perform as a quality control mechanism by determining what reports and essays are worthy of publication; and incidentally provide editorial guidance to improve the quality of manuscripts conditionally accepted for publication;

(3) Provide an opportunity for junior academics to demonstrate their qualification for promotion;

(4) Furnish scholars in other fields with information about the state of knowledge in a specific field;

(5) Serve as an archive of research and scholarly writing for a field of study;

(6) Enhance the reputation of the editors, the editors' institutions, and the publishers;

(7) Serve as publishers for the manuscripts of members of a society.

Adult education researchers who are aspiring authors have a growing number of journals to consider as potential outlets for their essays and reports. Each journal has its own niche in the range of scholarly publications and each was founded to serve a specific set of purposes for a given group of scholars. To make the wisest choice among potential outlets, an author must have knowledge of the various journals that publish diverse adult education manuscripts. Knowing the lead time between acceptance of a manuscript and its publication may be a critical consideration for some authors. Similarly, the reputation of the editors for providing guidance to neophyte authors--as well as established writers--may be of particular interest to graduate students who are just beginning their scholarly careers.

To facilitate AERC members' informed use of the adult education journals, this symposium has been designed to (a) acquaint the audience with the editors of a selected group of journals; (b) clarify the distinctive features of each of these journals; (c) provide up-to-date information on the policies, practices (including manuscript rejection rates) and priorities of these journals; (d) describe the selection process for journal editors, issue editors, review editors and consulting editors, and (e) afford an opportunity for discussion and clarification of the management and operation of these journals.

Each speaker or pair of speakers will address a series of questions and thereby provide an overview, without elaborate detail, of the philosophy, structure, and function of one of the four journals. It should be noted that the selection of these specific journals is not intended as an assessment of their quality in comparison with the multifarious publications in which adult educators publish but reflects their popular reputation within the field.

The symposium is structured to permit a brief introduction of the session followed by 10-minute presentations on each of the journals. The remaining 45 minutes are allocated for the audience to use to address those questions and issues that are of greatest concern to them and to encourage free discussion of the nature, scope, and current conditions for scholarly publishing in adult education.

SYMPOSIUM

EMANCIPATORY EDUCATION: FURTHER EXAMINATION OF MEZIROW'S THEORY OF ADULT LEARNING

Mechthild Hart
School for New Learning
DePaul University

Arthur L. Wilson
M. Carolyn Clark
University of Georgia

Jack Mezirow
Teachers College
Columbia University

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this symposium is to provide a forum for a discussion of Mezirow's critical theory of adult learning. While response to date has centered on a critique of Mezirow's theoretical framework, it is our intention to extend the debate by examining the assumptions and the implications of those assumptions within the theory itself as well as further analysis of its roots in Habermas' theory of knowledge.

In the symposium three different points of view are presented for discussion. Hart's theoretical critique is concerned with the issue of a critical or emancipatory concept of education that employs Habermas' theoretical framework and its relationship to social action. Her intention is to raise questions that go beyond both Mezirow's and Habermas' ideas and position in order to define an emancipatory educational practice. Her essential issue concerns the nature of power as a social phenomenon in educational relationships. Wilson and Clark examine some of the psycho-cultural assumptions upon which Mezirow's theory is built, thereby exercising on the theory itself the critical reflection which it espouses. In this analysis, Mezirow's assumptions about gender, value, and rationality are brought into question. Implications for practice include the ethical responsibilities of the adult educator and the personal and social costs for the emancipated learner. Finally, the symposium provides an opportunity for Mezirow himself to engage in dialogue with these ideas and offer his response to these critiques. Mezirow has continued to refine and articulate the relationship between self-reflection and rational discourse and we direct readers to his conference paper included elsewhere in these Proceedings. Thus, in effect, this forum is an exercise in the dialogic process which is the core of Mezirow's theory of adult learning.

POWER AND EMANCIPATORY LEARNING — Mechthild Hart

My criticism of some aspects of Mezirow's theories are only part of a broader concern with the notion of emancipatory education. I therefore criticize Mezirow for his treatment of certain categories developed by Habermas, categories which are inherently useful for such a notion, but which lose a considerable portion of their usefulness in the way Mezirow utilizes them in his own theories. But I am also concerned with the limits of Habermas' conceptual framework and the kinds of questions it does permit us to ask in light of the broader question of emancipatory education.

At the core of Habermas' critical project lies his concern with relations of dominance, that is, forms of unfree life. His theories, particularly the complex conceptual apparatus Habermas develops in conjunction with his ideas on human interaction and communication, provide categories and distinctions which allow the examination of

relations of dominance on all levels of social and individual life. According to Habermas, an unfree life is an irrational one, but it is precisely in the name of rationality that this fact is obscured. Habermas develops his core distinctions of "purposive-rational" (i.e., instrumental and strategic) and "communicative action" for two major purposes: to indict the tyranny of instrumental reason which society perceives as the only form of rationality deserving that name and to bring to light and preserve the rationality which is embedded in the normative structure of human communication.

Habermas discusses how a rational form of life is a power-free form of life, and he describes how this ideal is built into the very structure of communication--thus his concept of "communicative rationality." Furthermore, the very issue of power is described in terms of false or problematic relationships between communicative and purposive-rational action (and corresponding modes of rationality). These distinctions therefore provide powerful conceptual tools for examining "communicative distortions," that is, various forms of human action and experience which are structured strategically where they should be structured communicatively, and which therefore constitute violations of truly human communication.

It is my contention that to borrow Habermasian categories obliges one to the overall context of his theories and to the political impetus behind these theories. This means, first of all, to consider "communicative action" as the primary and encompassing form of action and to examine possible distortions in terms of problematic relationships between communicative and instrumental-strategic action. If the terms instrumental and communicative rationality are used in a merely descriptive way, which Mezirow does by distinguishing between different kinds or levels of learning which in turn presupposes an unproblematic, merely additive relationship between the two, the issue of power evaporates. Consequently, the ultimate *raison d'etre* of emancipatory education evaporates as well, leaving us with a mix of "distortions" only some of which originate in power-bound relations.

The meaning of critique becomes equally inconsistent. Within Habermas' theoretical framework, critique refers to a process which simultaneously aims at a dismantling of ideological, social, and psychological manifestations of dominance, and at the shaping of norms to which all parties agree in an unforced, authentic consensus. In other words, critique takes place within the medium of communicative rather than purposive-rational action. In contrast, by claiming that critical reflectivity can take place within the realm of instrumental learning as well, Mezirow produces a notion of critique whose meaning oscillates between the critique of norms (in the form of values and assumptions) and the critique of action strategies. Where the former is inherently tied to the problem of power (which remains mainly implicit in Mezirow's descriptions), and thus with questions concerning morally right or wrong behavior, the latter has to do with correct or incorrect decisions or procedures, based on adequate or inadequate information. While questions concerning the ability to develop correct and efficient action strategies are certainly of importance in education, they are only secondary to a theory of emancipatory education which is concerned with quite different competencies: to recognize and critique the existence of a false consensus and to establish truly egalitarian, reciprocal relationships.

This latter point brings to light the *radical* as well as *communal* implications of Habermas' theories for a concept of emancipatory education. Mezirow does not do

justice to either of these implications. As indicated above, his notion of critique stops short of acknowledging head-on the social and political reality of oppression. In his descriptions, emancipatory education therefore also becomes a purely individualistic endeavor, signifying learning processes aimed at overcoming *individual* distortions or obstacles. However, power--whether manifested in forms of human interaction or in the makeup of individual psyches--is always a *social* phenomenon, is always bound up with general social structures, institutions, and their legitimizing ideologies. Emancipatory education needs to systematically take this social aspect into account, both in terms of social theory and analysis, but also in terms of its specific practices. It must therefore also acknowledge that educators and learners alike bring inequalities in the form of power-bound ways of interaction into the education situation, thus "distorting" it from within. In this sense, teachers as well as students are in need of emancipatory learning processes. Consequently, the education experience has to be organized in such a way as to allow for the building of power-free relations. In other words, the critical-analytical dimension cannot be separated from the relational, and thus from its anticipatory-utopian dimension. This is the essence of emancipatory education.

Ultimately, then, emancipatory education must be concerned with immorality of power and the morality of dominance-free forms of human interaction. Although Habermas' theory of communicative competence reveals the fundamentally communal structure of truth-seeking and norm-shaping (a point Mezirow neglects) and points to the ideal of power-free communication, his analyses move to a level of abstraction which leaves far behind the embedded and embodied reality of concrete individual learners. He posits the ideal both as a condition for and as an outcome of the critical processes, but he does not wrestle with the practical concerns which are the daily bread of the emancipatory educator: how to acknowledge the unique experience of the individual by simultaneously taking into account the larger social forces that have shaped this experience, how to appreciate differences without losing sight of their connection to social hierarchies and inequalities, and, above all, how to nourish those sensibilities and virtues which allow for human interaction which is not governed by the need to control (or be controlled).

The new themes which are here proposed for a broadened and deepened understanding of emancipatory education are context and relationality, themes which dominate the discussion of the emerging fields of feminist ethical theories and feminist pedagogies. They refer to the fact that individual learners (as well as educators) are embedded in different social realities, that power manifests itself concretely and specifically, and that educational practices need to take these particularities and differences into account. Secondly, it refers to the fact that emancipatory education must help to produce abilities and competencies of the heart as well as of the mind, because dominant-free social intercourse must be nourished by the ability to love, care, and empathize as much as by the ability to reflect and criticize. The latter is necessary for the "negative" task to scrutinize the many different ways power can assert itself in social and individual life, and to analyze and theorize about the general structures that have to be built in a just and free society. The former is necessary for the explicitly positive task of creating and sustaining human relations which are attuned to uniqueness, particularity, and difference. Emancipatory education has to incorporate both of these tasks into its theory and practice.

PSYCHO-CULTURAL ASSUMPTIONS AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS

Arthur L. Wilson
M. Carolyn Clark

Mezirow's theory offers the most complex and insightful analysis of the adult learning process developed to date. What we have tried to do is to examine the theory on its own terms, in a sense turning it back on itself by critically examining its major assumptions and implications. It is our belief that the theory can be significantly expanded and rendered more inclusive by such an analysis. Our critique addresses four broad issues: the presence of unexamined cultural values within the theory, its decontextualized analysis of experience, its dependence on a problematic conception of rationality, and the unexplored implications of the normative character of transformative learning in particular and adult education in general.

No theory can be completely bracketed from its own presuppositions and values, and Mezirow's theory of adult learning is no exception. For example, one of the values evident in the theory is that of autonomy, in that the goal of critical reflection is the development of increasing states of self-direction. Mezirow assumes that autonomy and self-direction are the most important goals of adult education, but nowhere are these concepts themselves critiqued. We argue that these are values which reflect the dominant culture (i.e., white, male, middle class) and serve its interests. We do not cite Mezirow for having values but for not examining them.

A second problem is Mezirow's decontextualized analysis of experience. Mezirow studied women without taking into account the particular context within which women's experience is situated and by which it is defined, namely the hegemonic culture of patriarchy. Their experience of perspective transformation was directly related to their position within this dominant culture, since it was precisely those dominant cultural assumptions which were being critically examined. It was out of that analysis of those hegemonic assumptions that new meaning structures were constructed. Yet Mezirow removes this process from its context and in so doing suggests that the women's experience is generic. We would argue that the meaning of these experiences cannot be fully understood apart from their context; to do so is to distort that meaning. But the meaning of experience is not an issue of context, it is also an issue of its relation in context (see, for example, Alcoff, 1988; Bernstein, 1983; Hawkesworth, 1989; Lave, 1985). Our understanding of experience is predicated upon our "situatedness" in particular cultural-historical conditions. Our meaning perspectives are forged from our psychological and social relationships to these structures. We do not exist independent of these influences and neither can our understanding of experience. Examining the changes experienced by women within the social context of patriarchy would have made visible the interrelationship of psychic and cultural forces, evident in both the process of reproduction of the dominant culture and in the process of resistance to it.

Related to this is Mezirow's notion of rationality. Mezirow proposes a form of rational dialogue based on the force of argument alone. His view assumes that it is possible to transcend presuppositions, beliefs, and socio-cultural traditions in the dialogic process. Mezirow would have us believe that rationalism, on its own, is able to sort out distortions in our meaning perspectives. We would argue, however, that this view is unitary and limited. Recent philosophic and feminist analyses (Bernstein, 1983; Hawkesworth, 1989) provide a more malleable form of rationalism based on the

exigencies of human cognition and tradition. They propose a rationalism that encompasses the many ways of knowing as well as the influences of tradition and community on that knowing. Hawkesworth argues that a unitary concept of rationality is dangerously limited:

> Approaches to cognition as a human practice emphasize the expansiveness of rationality and the irreducible plurality of its manifestations within diverse traditions. Perception, intuition, conceptualization, inference, representation, reflection, imagination, remembrance, conjecture, rationalization, argumentation, contemplation, ratiocination, speculation, mediation, validation, deliberation--even a partial listing of the many dimensions of knowing suggests that it is a grave error to reduce this multiplicity to a unitary model. (1989, p. 551)

Hawkesworth's expanded view of the relationship between ways of knowing and rationality removes the limits suggested by Mezirow's narrow view of rationality. Further, it is important to note that both Bernstein and Hawkesworth stress how rationality is bounded by the beliefs of the reasoners as well as the historical traditions they find themselves. So, regardless of how "rational" discourse becomes, it is never able to escape the traditions from which it emerged. In fact, understanding those traditions and cultural conditions is an important ingredient in the rational understanding of meaning. Expanding Mezirow's concept of rationality in this way would strengthen the theory.

Like reasoning, education is also a culturally bound endeavor that reflects the belief systems of educators. All education is inherently normative and transformative education is particularly so. Mezirow ignores the implications that flow from the normative character of education. While correctly critical of the technical emphasis of education on solving procedural issues, Mezirow nonetheless suggests that the adult educator has only procedural responsibilities for facilitation of emancipatory learning. Yet at the same time he implicitly argues for distinct and directive outcomes to such interventions. We find such a position problematic. Among the issues in this respect are questions of directionality in transformative learning, the role of the educator in the transformative process as well as its ends, and the personal and social costs of emancipatory education for both the learner and society. These practical concerns remain unaddressed in Mezirow's theory.

Underlying our analysis of Mezirow's work is the apparent loss of the very texture from which his ideas emerge. The basic components of his construction--experience, reflection,rationality--are all products of individuals living in social aggregates at particular junctures of cultural-historical conditions. That these traditions are eliminated from Mezirow's emancipatory view necessarily restricts its explanatory power. In our view the normative nature of education, the notion of rationality, the role of assumed values in the theory, and the decontexualized analysis of experience all need critical consideration if Mezirow's theory of adult learning is to be further expanded. And it is our hope that ongoing scholarly debate will be directed to that end.

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GENDER CONSCIOUSNESS AND THE CLASSROOM CLIMATE: A METHODOLOGY USING JUNGIAN THEORY IN THE STUDY OF UNCONSCIOUS PROCESSES IN THE LEARNING GROUP

Poster Presentation
Adult Education Research Conference
May 18-19, 1990

Submitted by:

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GENDER CONSCIOUSNESS AND THE CLASSROOM CLIMATE: A METHODOLOGY USING JUNGIAN THEORY IN THE STUDY OF UNCONSCIOUS PROCESSES IN THE LEARNING GROUP

Mary Ellen Kondrat

Rationale. With women's increasing enrollments in post-secondary institutions, educators with a commitment to gender equality have become less preoccupied with the problem of equal access and increasingly concerned about the existence of gender-differential opportunities for attainment. There is a growing literature identifying the presence of systematic bias by gender within classroom transactions. Most often, either a quasi-behavioral or a cognitive learning theory is assumed to explain such differences, even though other sources have shown that the most fundamental, gender-linked behaviors are established unconsciously and pre-cognitively. Thus, unconscious dynamics in the learning group may be a more critical factor in the existence of gender-different classroom experiences than previously recognized.

Description. Conceptually grounded in the work of Jung and Neumann, the research described in this presentation utilized a methodology to track and code unconscious, symbolic themes which are thought to structure group consciousness. Member response to these unconscious structures is assumed to vary by gender. It was conjectured that if a member should transgress the gender-related patterns, the learning group would disallow the behavior.

Subjects were participants in a graduate seminar video-taped prior to the study. A single case research design was utilized. Category systems were developed and validated for each of three variables of interest: (1) type of symbolic, gender themes in the consciousness of the group; (2) type of members' responses to these gender themes; (3) type of group reaction to members' behaviors. The study utilized two sets of three coders, one for each phase of the data collection. Phase one involved the identification of type of symbolic, gender theme: phase two involved the collection of data on type of members' response and type of group reaction. Acceptable intercoder reliabilities were confirmed prior to and during the period of observation.

Methodological issues. The psychodynamic basis of this study called for observers to make category judgments on material which appears to be below the subjects' levels of awareness. Issues unique to observational methodologies are compounded when judges are required to make decisions with such high levels of inference and interpretation. Problems of inference and proof; construction and validation of category schema; reliability of measures; and training of observers demand solutions that are both imaginative and rigorous.

THE RETIREMENT CAREER PROFILE: A VIDEO SAMPLER

Burton W. and Doris J. Kreitlow

PROBLEM: The problem is that of determining effective means of programming to meet learning needs of older adults. There are great variations in the extent to which older adults participate in continued learning. How should the usual adult education programming and recruitment methods be adjusted to meet the diverse learning needs of this segment of the population? It was the purpose of this investigation to develop a frame of reference that could be used by adult educators and others for program extension and improvement for the retired.

METHODOLOGY: Research methods and techniques were based on grounded theory and moved from community survey to in-depth audio taped interviews. For purposes of this presentation a number of comparable interviews were video taped. An initial base of 200 taped interviews provided the basic data. Beginning with Maslow's "good choosers" and concepts from disengagement theory and self-actualization, the data were tumbled into natural occurring categories that established a profile. This then became the frame of reference for programming.

DESCRIPTION OF THE DATA: Initial interview data (1978-1982) came from survey and interviews with the most positively retired persons in nine diverse settings in the U.S. and England, most of whom were participating in some form of continuing learning. More recent interview data (1988-1989) came from the work of Allan Pevoto at Texas A. and M. University. These later interviews were with those in senior centers who did not participate in education programs.

CONCLUSIONS: The results led to the development of an in-depth linear model of retirement careers moving from regressive (primarily those who are disengaged) to neutral (those who tend to sit around at home, clubs or centers) to growth (those who volunteer, work part-time or pursue a cause) to soaring (the self-actualized, they fly on their own).

Further conclusions will be developed as the profile is examined in terms of its implications for planning adult education programming and recruitment. This will be the focus of the Poster Session at which time each segment of the profile (regressive, neutral, growth and soaring) will be considered.

Late Life Learning and the Visual Arts

Madeline M. Rugh, M.A., A.T.R.

This study represents an effort to explore possible relationships between the life experience of older adults and learning in the visual arts. Given the documented interest of adults in the arts and the need for adult educators to carefully examine the way an older adult utilizes life experience in the learning process, this study posed the following four questions: 1. What are the etiological characteristics and qualities of the visual art process as it evolves over time as experienced and interpreted by one older woman who comes to art late in life. 2. How does one older woman derive meaning and satisfaction through her late life artistic endeavors. 3. How and why are the visual arts uniquely suited to the learning needs of an older woman. 4. What cultural, community and personal resources are utilized, both in the present and the past, in the visual art learning process.

The subject of this study was one older woman from a rural area in a southern state. In demographic characteristics she is representative of a cross-section of the current older population: She is "young-old" (65); She has an eighth grade education (went on to get a GED); She is widowed and lives alone; She is retired living on a low fixed income; She had no art training prior to her five year involvement with a state arts council artist-in-residence program. A phenomenological approach was utilized to produce an indepth description of her developmental history in visual art learning. Taped interviews of the subjects life history were paired with a detailed analysis of the content and structure of her visual art productions and processes covering a five year time span involving 150 paintings, drawings and sketches. This pairing yielded an intricate and textured weaving of her personal history, cognitive and emotional processes, community influences, and the visual art product.

The research described above is still in progress. At the time of this writing two major themes have emerged: 1. A relationship appears to exist between expression in the arts and life crisis resolution, between injuries of the past and integration with the current self concept. This phenomenon seems to be connected with some psychological theories of life review and art as therapy. Additionally, transformational theories as espoused by writers like Friere and Mezirow are evident in the use of art for personal empowerment and expanded notions of the self. 2. The use and expression of the visual arts is highly relational, a great deal of attention is paid to the interests and activities of others in the thematic content of the subjects art work. Relational expression in the arts has been viewed as a feminine attribute in contrast to the culturally dominant male based expression of personal isolation and introspection. Art used in this way is more socially responsive, a powerful way of being and sharing life experience in an age of cultural isolation.

Charlene A. Sexton University of Nebraska - Lincoln

The Educational and Social Philosophy of Dorothy Canfield Fisher

In the few books devoted to description and analysis of adult education history in the U.S., discussion of Fisher's philosophy and contribution is limited. For example, Grattan (1955) mentions her book, Why Stop Learning?, in a footnote. The purpose of this presentation is to stimulate collaborative examination of Why Stop Learning? (1927) and Learn or Perish (1930) in order to identify Fisher's educational and social philosophy. A secondary purpose is to shed light on her role and contribution to the adult education movement.

The first part of the presentation provides a brief overview of Fisher's life. She was born in Kansas in 1879, but spent most of her life in Vermont and died there in 1958. Known primarily as a novelist, critic, and translator, she served as editorial board member for Book-of-the-Month Club for over 25 years. In 1926, she was appointed Adult Education Association President, an honorary position. Why Stop Learning? was published following its serialization in McCall's. She participated in the Kappa Delta Pi Lecture Series by writing Learn or Perish (1930), which followed John Dewey's lecture inaugurating the Series.

Drawing on the frameworks of Martin (1981, 1985), Dearden (1972), and Freire (1989), Fisher's works will be examined in order to identify her educational and social philosophy. What was her view of society and educational purpose? Did she prescribe a role for the teacher, and an educational method? In the 1930 work, Fisher queried her readers: "Could our educational structure be enlarged to cope with the new need for a people who were not content to go through life with whatever education they had been able to acquire in their youth?" Her question reveals some aspects of her educational philosophy. Education was a means to personal growth and development, as well as societal development. She repeatedly talked about self-education as a method, and its potential for the regeneration of work. At one point she discusses "the many potential learning periods of maturity, when experience of life has aroused an interest in subjects which in the nature of things are not alive in youth." This reflects an understanding of adult development and its relationship to learning. A central question framing our collaborative inquiry is whether Fisher distinguished between productive and reproductive processes in society in arriving at her ideal of the educated person.

STUDENT SUCCESS AND SELF-DIRECTED LEARNING READINESS IN A NON-TRADITIONAL HIGHER EDUCATION PROGRAM

Stanley W. Smith & Huey B. Long

Self-direction in learning has been a topic of considerable study and debate for a number of years in the field of adult education. Research has focused on the nature of the self-directed learner, what types of learning projects he/she engages in, how the learning is pursued, if and how it can be aided, and other areas of interest. Most basic questions as to the nature of self-direction in learning are still open to considerable debate however, as can be witnessed by the lively discussions encountered in adult education circles whenever the topic is broached. This study does not attempt to provide any global answers to the debate but rather to focus on a fairly narrow portion of the question concerning readiness for self-direction in learning.

This study examines whether individuals who successfully complete a highly self-directed higher education program possess a greater level of self-directed learning readiness than those who withdraw prior to completion. Such a finding would suggest that level of self-directed learning readiness might be useful as an indicator of possible success in a self-directed learning environment. Also, influences of family, work and other factors which might impact upon student ability to complete the program were evaluated.

The study population included alumni, and students who had withdrawn from the University of Oklahoma's College of Liberal Studies' baccalaureate degree program (BLS). The College of Liberal Studies' programs are designed for non-traditional, highly self-directed students who "assume a major responsibility" for their own progress.

This study surveyed a total of 205 individuals from a sample of recent graduates and students who had withdrawn from the BLS program. Guglielmino's Self Directed Learning Readiness Scale (SDLRS), a 58 item Likert-type self report questionnaire, and an information sheet were included in a mail survey to each subject. The information sheet provided demographic data as well as a Likert-type measure of factors influencing subjects ability to complete their studies. Slightly less than 37% of survey instruments were returned. Descriptive statistics were computed and Pearson correlations determined. The Aspen-Welch T-test was also used to evaluate portions of the data.

Study findings include significant differences between SDLRS scores for graduates of the College of Liberal Studies (CLS) Baccalaureate Degree Program and those who had withdrawn from the program. The mean score for graduates was 250.1 as compared to a mean of 228.2 for students who had withdrawn from the program. The study suggests the SDLRS may have potential for use as an indicator of student success in the CLS baccalaureate program.

This Presentation was supported by the Oklahoma
Research Center for Continuing Professional & Higher Education
College of Education, University of Oklahoma

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION & CONSERVATIVE IDEOLOGY

Stanley W. Smith

In 19th century Czarist Russia, protests over educational access, and other internal strife, threatened the continued existence of the empire (Brower 1975). The Czar's ministers responded by constructing schools for the vocations as a means of appeasing the masses without creating a threat to the ruling class. The operative rationale was that useful vocational skills would benefit the empire while the opening of minds a more liberal arts education might produce would likely only result in further ferment. A recent Swedish study supports this rationale finding vocational students more politically conservative than their more academic contemporaries (Paulter 1987).

Social reproductionists suggest society perpetuates inequality through the socialization process in its educational institutions (Beder, 1987). The more restrictive, predominantly vocational, curricula in institutions for the working class, make it less likely students will obtain the attitudes, values and skills necessary for social mobility. (Rose & Brouwer, 1986). They are therefore correspondingly less likely than their upper middle class peers to move upwards from the social class in which they originate. Zwerling (1976) more explicitly argues that occupational education has been used as a mechanism for social control. He particularly indicates two year colleges have historically been used as a means to channel students into terminal programs in the occupations rather than as a means for providing social mobility.

A theoretical picture of vocational/occupational education thus emerges as a system: 1) perpetuating class differences, 2) producing conservative citizens unlikely to question the status quo, while 3) providing skilled workers to supply goods and services. It could be postulated then that vocational education would be a natural area of emphasis for a political system that felt threatened by internal or external change. Such a situation occurred in the Southern United States during and immediately following the period of the civil rights movement.

This study examines the theoretical question posed above. More specifically, the study compares the levels of vocational education support in the Southern United States with that in the rest of the nation. Variability due to federal vocational funding and differences in population and budget size are controlled for. Study findings indicate no correlation exists between state political ideology and support for vocational education. It does suggest such a relationship may exist on a regional basis.

Study data was derived from U.S. Department of Education publications and analyzed with appropriate statistical techniques. Also, a measure of state and regional political ideology was derived from Erikson, McIver, and Wright's 1987 study of state political culture and public opinion.

This Presentation was supported by the Oklahoma
Research Center for Continuing Professional & Higher Education
College of Education, University of Oklahoma